THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF THE TZOTZIL LANGUAGE AS SPOKEN IN SAN BARTOLOMÉ DE LOS LLANOS, CHIAPAS, MÉXICO

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abbreviations

A	adjective (adverb).
C	consonant phoneme.
C'	glottalized consonant phoneme
CV, CVC, etc.	stem formations of consonant (C) - vowel (V) combinations.
Enum	enumerative adjective; number or numeral classifier.
Exc.	exclusive; first person plural subject.
I	intransitive verb
I.A.	inverted alveolar; tongue apex position.
Inc.	inclusive; first person plural subject.
Loc.	locative nominal phrase.
N	noun.
N.C.	numeral classifier.
Nom.	nominal phrase.
Obj.	object of verb or sentence.
P	particle.
Pl.	plural person
Poss.	possessive prefix (1,2,3, poss. first, second, third person possessive).
Prep.	prepositional.
Pron.	pronoun.
Qual.	qualitative adjective.
S	stative verb.

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S.	San (Spanish saint).
Sg. or Sing.	singular person.
Sp.	Spanish (language).
Subj.	subject of verb or sentence.
T	transitive verb.
Temp.	temporal phrase.
U.D.	upper dental; tongue apex positions.
V	vowel phoneme.

Symbols

1,2,3, or 1st,2nd,3rd	first, second, third person reference.
*	non-occurring, postulated form.
/ /	phoneme.
√‾	morpheme.
( )	phonetic (where specified).
∅	zero form (belonging to a deficient set).

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INTRODUCTION

Tzotzil in San Bartolomé

Tzotzil is a Mayan language spoken in the highlands of Chiapas, the southernmost state of Mexico. It is spoken by a number of groups or peoples who are not only distinct in dialect and in geography, but also in costume, politics, and degree or kind of relationship with the Spanish-speaking Ladino population which lives near or among them.[1] Tzotzil is most closely related to its neighbor, Tzeltal, and less closely related to Tojolabal and other languages spoken in southern Mexico and in nearby Guatemala.[2]

The San Bartolomé dialect of Tzotzil is spoken in the town of Venustiano Carranza; formerly called San Bartolomé de los Llanos and called San Bartolo by the Tzotzil speakers. In the town live some 3,000 to 4,000 speakers of Tzotzil and about an equal number of monolingual speakers of Spanish. It is the Southernmost location of Tzotzil speakers, the town being situated in the low lying plains formed by the Grijalva River. This community is located about 1,500 feet above the floor of the plains sitting on a ledge of an extinct volcano which rises about 4,500 feet in all.

Until very recently, the Tzotzil speakers in the town have been gen-

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[1] Among these in the highland Tzotzil: Chamula, Zinacantan, Huistan: the southern lowland; S. Bartolo, Zapotal, Totolapa, Ixtapa: the northern Tzotzil includes Larrainzar, S. Andres, Chalchiuitan, Chenalho.

[2] Norman A. McQuown, "The Origins and Differentiation of the Maya as inferred from the Comparative Study of Maya Languages," Part I: "The Cultural Development of Maya" (paper prepared for the Burg Wartenstein Symposium, No. 20, September, 1962); now published in Spanish.

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erally isolated from other Tzotzil speakers. Occasional traders from the highlands groups of Chamula and Zinacantan are presently seen, in the town, and they may have come before the recently improved roads were constructed. The closest Tzotzil groups are located in the towns of Zapotal (San Lucas) and Totolapa. From a few sample word lists administered in these areas as well as in the remainder of the Tzotzil region, it appears that these two towns are most closely related in dialect to San Bartolo. Although visiting between these areas and San Bartolo is negligible at present, it seems likely that they had a great deal of interchange in the past.

The greatest amount of interaction of townspeople with outsiders occurs between the S. Bartoleños and Tzeltal speakers from Pinola (now called Villa las Rosas), whose outlying lands border on lands pertaining to San Bartolo. There are at least a few bilingual speakers of Tzeltal and Tzotzil in the town, but most interlingual speech is presently conducted in Spanish.

Other relationships with outsiders include those with speakers of Tojolabal who arrive in large numbers for the feast of Carnával each year. Some 10,000 to 15,000 people of varying backgrounds come into the town at this time, and since they generally do not wear distinguishing clothing, it is difficult to surmise who has come in for the celebration.

In addition to outsiders there are several outlying colonias or offshoots of the town. Some of these lie very close to the town, and are composed of several families who live near their lands. All of the Tzotzil speakers in these places are originally from S. Bartolo and do not yet differ in dialect. Some settlements are occupied only during parts of the year, and separate homes are maintained inside the limits of the village. Two large colonias are located several hours and miles away on the banks of the Grijalva River; the Vegas del Paso and Chachib. Both of these are now essentially small towns,

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each containing 200 to 400 people. No one in the Vega del Chachib presently admits to being a speaker of Tzotzil; that is, to being an Indito or indigenous person. But the residents of San Bartolo itself are certain that they were Tzotziles a generation ago.

The bi-ethnic and bi-lingual qualities of the population are related through much of the Tzotzil area. In areas where there is a Ladino[1] population in the town, the speaking of Tzotzil is often equated with inferior status, and the language will probably survive for some time. This is the situation in San Bartolo. In other areas, such as Zapotal and Totolapa, Tzotzil will probably be extinct within a generation. In areas which have no residing Ladino population but are located close to a city, such as Huistan, Chamula, and Zinacantan, the language is also holding its own. In other words, wherever an issue is made of inferiority, the language is continuing to be used as the native tongue; while in areas which are not subject to similar pressures, Tzotzil appears to be on the decline.

In the town of San Bartolo live the brightly costumed Inditos in five barrios or neighborhoods. The central part or centro is occupied by the Spanish-speaking Ladinos. The centro is comprised of the actual center of town plus the houses lining the main street and about a block on either side of it. Except for a few Ladinos who were brought up on area ranches where a great deal of interaction among hired Inditos is carried out in Tzotzil, no non-Indians speak Tzotzil.

On the borders of the barrios the children naturally interact and play to some extent between speakers and non-speakers of Tzotzil. However, all such interaction seems to be carried out in Spanish. As far as could be noted,

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[1] Ladino, i.e. Latin, is the essential equivalent of the usual Mexican mestizo or mixed Spanish-Indian population.

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no non-Indian children knew any Tzotzil. On the other hand, and depending on a series of circumstances, a good number of the Tzotzil speaking children are almost bilingual in Spanish. Some Indian children act as if they do not understand Spanish, but this seems doubtful.

On the contrary, it seems likely that the town has been essentially bilingual for some 400 years; since it has been a town composed of two ethnic groups. At present, the Indian women are all fluent in Spanish, although some of the men claim that they do not even understand Spanish. Since it is the women who interact most with the Ladino population, this is understandable. Most of the men are usually out of town, tending their lands from Monday until Saturday. They do not come home each night, often being away the entire six days.[1]

In the barrios, essentially all interaction is carried out in Tzotzil. Spanish is used when talking to the few outsiders who penetrate into the barrios. Other than neighbors, however, few Ladinos ever seem to get far into the barrios; and this on rare occasions of special parties. Essentially no Spanish is spoken among the men and boys during the greater part of each week when they are tending their milpa or fields.

As in many bi-lingual situations Tzotzil is used as a kind of secret code when non-Indians are present. This makes it difficult for the field-worker since he is perceived as an outsider, whether he can speak Spanish or not. Most attempts by non-Indians to speak Tzotzil are met with giggles or guffaws. The local myth, which is not at all true in many other localities, is that non-Indians cannot speak bats'i k'op; the "real" language.

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[1]Michael Salovesh, "Residence Patterns and Their Effects on Acculturation in San Bartolomé, Chiapas," 1963. (Unpublished manuscript.)

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After four centuries of contact, the impact of Spanish on San Bartolo Tzotzil has been considerable, but has certainly not done much to its basic structure.[1] The usual borrowings of words for non-native items occur in all Tzotzil dialects.[2] In addition, the San Bartolo dialect, at least, has adopted regularly occurring particles such as péro, has a relatively consistent way of bringing verb forms into Tzotzil, uses the Spanish calendar exclusively (some other dialects do not), and tends to incorporate numbers and other Spanish-isms into daily speech, apparently as a function of the context in which they are used.[3]

Fieldwork in San Bartolomé

The data for the grammar, dictionary and texts were gathered during two field trips to the area: one in 1960-61,[4] another in 1962.[5] The first session, about nine months, was devoted primarily to data-gathering and analysis of grammatical and lexical data; the second, six months, to the application of this data to some problems in the area of language and culture.[6]

The major informant, Bartolomé Hidalgo Sabanillo, devoted his time to this work throughout these field sessions. He is a bilingual who is quite fluent in spoken Spanish, and is literate in Spanish. He learned to read and

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[1] Nicholas A. Hopkins, Terrence Kaufman, personal communication.

[2] Part II, Dictionary of San Bartolo Tzotzil.

[3] Part III, Tzotzil texts.

[4] This trip was supported by the Chiapas Project of the University of Chicago under Norman A. McQuown.

[5] The second field trip was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health.

[6] Harvey B. Sarles, The Question-Response System in Language (ms., submitted for publication), 1964.

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write in Tzotzil, and is capable of rendering excellent transcriptions of Tzotzil and translations from that language into Spanish.

In addition to direct elicitation from the major informant, and some degree of checking with other informants on a less formal basis, much of the grammatical analysis utilizes stories and texts. Some additions and corrections are based on conversational material gathered during the second field period, and further checking with the major informant during that time.

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CHAPTER I

PHONOLOGY

Phonemes of San Bartolomé Tzotzil

Consonants

p	t	ȼ	c	k	?	
p'	t'	ȼ'	c'	k'		(C') - glottalized
b	d			g		(C) - in Spanish loans only
f	s		š		h	
w	y					
m	n					
	l					
	r					

Vowels

i		u
e		o
	a	

Tones

Low / / (not marked)

High /'/

Internal Junctures

Close /ʌ/

Open /#/ (postulated)

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Terminal Contours

Comma	/,/
Rising	/ˊ/
Falling	/#/

General Features of Phonetic Set and Variation

There are several features of the general mouth or lip set,[1] tongue positions, and general pitch level which are shared by speakers of the S. Bartolo dialect of Tzotzil. Some of these features are true of Tzotzil generally, while others are found only in San Bartolomé. Many of them are cues which are available for the native speakers to distinguish one another from outsiders.

Mouth-Lip Set

In this respect, the dialect is distinct from other dialects of Tzotzil, and from the neighboring Tzeltal. The observer has the general impression that the lips are very widespread and compressed, relative to those of an American English speaker. Only preceding and in forming allophones of /o/ do the lips become more rounded, in the usual sense. Even while forming labials or labio-dentals, the spread of the lips diminishes only slightly.

The upper lip tends to not only maintain this wide spread, but rarely moves at all. There is essentially no vertical movement of the upper lip. For example, when forming any of the allophones of /w/, which are generally labio-dentals, the bottom lip comes up and slightly in. But any movement of the upper lip is very slight. In articulating some allophones of this sound the lips almost touch; but almost entirely as a function of the lower lip

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[1]George L. Trager, "Paralanguage: A First Approximation," Studies in Linguistics, XIII (1958), 1-12.

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moving up to close contact with the upper lip. It appears that the two lips function essentially independently. Many speakers of this dialect can carry on extended conversations, showing their upper teeth continuously. Children also do this, the upper lip being essentially immobilized at the age of about ten months to a year.

In combination with other, intra-oral features which will be described below, the upper lip does play a great part in vowel formation, moving along the horizontal axis. There thus exist, in this dialect, some unusual sounding vocalic features, which are very difficult for the English speaker to imitate with any degree of accuracy.

Pitch Level, Pitch Spread, and Nasality

The Tzotzil males all speak with a pitch level higher than this investigator's (which is not a very low baritone). One might speculate that this has to do with "projection"of the voice, the effective air column being far anterior to that of most American males. General lack of nasality in this dialect would appear to be consonant with this. Except for the few adenoid individuals, whose speech was generally nasal, this feature does not occur.

The range of pitch for both men and women, seems to be far greater for all Tzotzil speakers than for American English speakers.

Tongue Set and Variation (Consonants)

The resting position of the tongue is quite central. The apical portion is relatively free-floating; not continually maintaining contact with any parts of the oral cavity. (Most English speakers do seem to maintain one of several possible points of contact).

In the formation of sounds, the tongue may be effectively divided into four parts, or factors, which may be considered to vary independently:

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(1) tongue tip or apex; (2) tongue blade, immediately distal to the apex; (3) velar or proximal portion of the tongue; (4) lateral tongue. Variation in the tongue tip and blade have been observed extensively, and certainly play an important part in speaking correct Tzotzil. Velar and lateral variations in the tongue, being difficult to observe, will not be discussed.

Tongue Tip

The apex ranges through four major positions.

Upper Dental (U.D.)

This corresponds most closely to what is usually considered to be dental. The apex is almost in interdental position at the base of the upper teeth. The articulation is always made with the upper teeth, sometimes touching the lower teeth, but only secondarily, if the teeth are almost closed for some other reason.

Lower Dental (L.D.)

The apex contacts the back of the lower teeth. The exact position of articulation varies as a function of these factors: position in the word; tone of the preceding vowel (if/o/), with some consonants. Initially, in a word, the position is consistently near the upper edge of the lower teeth. Medially or finally, the apex is usually located in much lower position, near the base of the lower teeth or just touching the gum line. Some consonants in this position, and /o/ with high tone preceding, seem to force the tongue up to the normally initial lower dental position, just below the top of the lower teeth.

Inverted Alveoler (I.A.)

The apex is "anchored" in the soft tissue below and slightly anterior

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to the lower gum. This is just posterior to the most depressed point between the chin and lower lip, in looking at the face.

Tongue Blade

This part of the tongue is articulated with the palate in the formation of the palatal phonemes /c, c', š/. In addition, it plays a secondary part in forming other sounds, initial in the word. Medially and finally, there tends to be a lateral spread of the tongue which seems to preclude the use of the blade in articulating. The position of the blade varies essentially as a function of the position of the apex, initially. With lower dentals, the blade is projected upward to touch the upper teeth; the degree of contact is a function of the particular sound and its lateral spread. When the apex is in the upper dental position, the blade is essentially opposite to the position described above. It is doubled downward, making contact with the back of the lower teeth.

Allophonic Variation of Consonants
(As a Function of Apical Tongue Position)

No Allophonic Variation

Irrespective of position in word /t, t', ŧ, ŧ'/ - Upper Dental

Word Initial

No Variation

U.D. (Upper Dental) - /l/

L.D. (Lower Dental) - /s,n,y/

I.A. (Inverted Alveolar) - /k,k')

Variation with CVC^1

/š/ - I.A. (where C^1 = /m,p,p',?,b,w/)

/š/ - L.D. (where C^1 = all others consonants)

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/m,p,p',?,b,w/ - I.A. (where V = /a,o,u/)

" - L.D. (where V = /i,e/)

Word Medial or Final (L.D.a - apex near bottom gum line; L.D.b, near top of lower teeth--normal for initial sounds.)

No Variation

L.D.b - /c',k,k'/)

U.D. - /t,t',ɬ,ɬ'/

/š/ - L.D.a - before V

CVC (where V = /i,e,a,u/ - high or low tone)

U.D. - /n/

L.D.b - all others (except /s,n/)

CoC (where /o/ has high or low tone)

U.D. - /c/

I.A. - /?,b/

CoC

U.D. - /l,y/

L.D.a - /s,š/

L.D.b - /p,p',h,m,n,w/

CoC

L.D.a - /l,y/

L.D.b - /s,š/

I.A. - /p,p',h,m,n,w/

Phonetic Variation in Vowels
(With Reference to Tongue Placement)

The vowels of this dialect are notable with respect to the nearby Tzotzil (and Tzeltal) dialects. The general impression of field workers in

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the area has long been that at least one of these vowels, /u/, is completely distinct from the equivalent vowel in other dialects. Any one word containing any allophone of this /u/ is sufficient to localize any speaker to this town or to one of its colonies.

The following statements are made in terms of the vowels occurring without the presence of "modifying" consonants.

Although there are five vowel phonemes, there appear to be only two basic tongue apex placement locations for all of the vowels. Variation in the quality of the vowels involves only two variables in addition to the basic apical placements. These are: (1) curvature or flatness along the longitudinal axis of the tongue; (2) relative spread or wideness of the lips, varying from extremely wide to normal to rounded.

The two basic apical placements of the tongue for vowels are Lower Dental and Inverted Alveolar.

Lower Dental Position--/i,e/

The apex of the tongue is placed behind the lower teeth and the immediately distal portion is bent up to contact the upper teeth. There is no variation of lip spread with allophones of /i/ and /e/, but the lips are held in the normal position.

Variation occurs in the curvature of the tongue and the contacts or points of articulation which result from the curvature, the apical placements and bend of the tongue.

In forming allophones of /i/, the tongue is curved downward from the blade on back, forming a funnel. The contact with the upper teeth is restricted to the two front teeth (without the presence of modifying consonants).

Allophones of /e/, on the other hand, are made with a spread tongue which is in contact with the sides of the mouth. The blade is bent upwards to contact approximately the front half of the upper teeth.

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Inverted Alveolar Position--/a,o,u/

The apical placement of the tongue in forming these vowels is essentially identical for all three. It is located just below the lower gum on the soft tissue, in the slightly anterior depression.

The two differentiating features are lip spread and internal spread or rounding of the tongue. The lip spread varies in this manner: very wide for /u/; normal (fairly wide) for /a/; rounded for /o/. But the amount of allowed variation even in the same utterance leads one to believe that this is a secondary phenomenon which often accompanies the internally formed features, and is essentially unimportant in differentiating these vowels.

Internally, the allophones of /a/ are made with a tongue that is quite flat longitudinally. The /u/ is somewhat rounded or funneled from front to back. In terms of the usual fairly spread lips, these two vowels are probably analogous to the set of the two front vowels. The /a/ and /e/ would then form one set, the /i/ and /u/, the other.

The allophones of /o/ are quite distinct. In addition to the noticeable lip rounding, there is considerable internal rounding of the tongue along the longitudinal axis, and, apparently, internal rounding of the entire oral cavity; probably a function of the pharyngeal constrictor muscles.

When occurring non-finally, the vowels take the apical tongue position of the following consonants. The formation of the particular allophone is a function of the non-apical portion of the tongue. If, for example, the preceding and following consonants have the identical tongue position, there appears to be no apical movement at all through the duration of the syllable.

Allophonics

As will be pointed out in Chapters III and V, the lexical frames which occur in this dialect of Tzotzil are mainly of the shapes CVC and CVCVC. Thus,

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the concept of word initial, medial and final allophones generally presents few problems.

A syllable in Tzotzil is composed of at least one consonant and one vowel. The pitch and stress phenomena are carried mainly through the duration of the vowel.

In the case of the CVCVC words, the medial consonant is essentially part of the first and second syllables. There is no clear demarcation point between the first and second syllables in this kind of medial segment.

Other stem forms do, however, occur. In CVCV forms, a point of syllabification clearly occurs before each consonant.

In words where two consonants occur in order (e.g., CVCCV), there is generally a syllable break between the two consonants. The allophones of the first consonant in such situations, are generally more similar to word final consonants in the CVC or CVCVC stems, than to initials or medials in such configurations.

In the case where two consonants occur word initially (when the prefixes, h-, s-, š-, ɬ-, c- occur) the word initial consonant is considered to be the second in order. The preceding consonants in such cases will be referred to as pre-initial consonants.

There are a few forms, most borrowed from Spanish, in which actual initial and final consonant clusters occur: pr-, tr-, kr-, nɬ. Only in these cases is there no syllable point between two contiguous consonants.

There is at least some allophonic variations in some phonemes as a function of the position in a phrase or sentence; i.e., order relation to a terminal juncture of the word in which that phoneme is located. If the word is followed by others with only a plus juncture intervening, the word-final release will be short, with a slight aspirated or glottalized release. If the

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word is alone in citation form, or is followed by more than a plus juncture, the release is generally into another syllable which tends to echo the preceding syllable.

Aspiration and Glottalization[1]

Rather than consider glottalization and aspiration as completely separate phenomena, they can be considered together as a function of several variables in various distributions, as they operate in this dialect of Tzotzil. The combination of the particular variables, usually in a definitive sequence, will define the release from an articulation. This is what will be meant by aspiration and glottalization: release from an articulation.

The main reason for collecting together what seems to be two different phenomena is that, in many respects, they share characteristics. For example, what is usually called glottalized often turns out to have no more than a slight glottal constriction in this dialect, and replaces a glottal release with what is normally thought of as an aspiration.

All consonants tend to be released, in all positions, with an extra, prevocalic segment; a combination of the phonetic qualities of the consonant and the following vowel. The observer's perception of this seems to be a function of the sharpness of the release, and into what the sound is released.

The release is voiced from voiced consonants in initial and medial positions, and voiceless everywhere else.

Only stop and affricated consonants are articulated sharply (with an audible click release) enough in any positions to be glottalized in the ordinary sense.

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[1]Kenneth L. Pike, Phonetics (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1943), Chapter VI.

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Release from Articulation (The listed variables are considered.)

Formation of Articulations

Points and types of articulation.

Glottal closure (complete, partial, none).

Local air pressure build-up between glottis and point of articulation (with glottal constriction).

Time of glottal closure relative to time of formation of articulation.

Release from Articulations

Types of release; oral, nasal vs. glottal.

Relative order of timing of oral or nasal vs. glottal release.

Following phenomena (vowel, consonant, type of juncture) into which release is made.

Glottal closure is complete with initial and final allophones of /?, b, C'/, if the word occurs following or preceding a terminal juncture.

Glottal closure may be partial; constricted, squeezed with both vowels and consonants. For vowels two degrees of partial closure can be recognized: heavy and light squeeze.

Heavy Squeeze occurs when any vowel is preceded and followed by /C', ?, b/. The constriction is very clear throughout the duration of the vowel.

Light Squeeze occurs when a following glottalized consonant occurs. This affects the vowel to a degree through approximately the second half of its duration; sufficiently to distinguish it from a completely "clear" vowel with no accompanying glottal constriction. A preceding C' has essentially no effect on the following vowel unless the vowel is followed by another C'.

For consonants glottal closure is not complete in word medial positions,

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except when followed by another consonant. Complete glottal closure occurs with /C',?,b/ only following and preceding terminal junctures in the sentence or phrase. Otherwise, in word initial and final positions, constriction with these consonants is heavy, but rarely complete.

With glottal closure, there is the possibility that air can be held in the oral cavity under a relatively great pressure. The glottal closure must be accompanied by a firm articulation (as in stops and affricates) in order for this to occur. The high pressure pocket will be located between the glottis and the point of stoppage. What will be described as glottalization is the release of this pressure, usually first orally and, slightly later in order, glottally.

The timing of the glottal closure relative to the time of the formation of the articulation affects the perception by the observer, of the differences among different consonants. If the glottal closure occurs first, it is often very difficult to distinguish where the oral articulation is being made. The quality of the vowel leading up to this stop is also somewhat obscured by the pre-consonantal glottal closure. For the native speaker of this dialect, this seems to provide no problem. However, in normally rapid speech, the timing of the oral and glottal closures, the amount of constriction and firmness of articulation, and the sharpness of the release vary considerably from citation-form speech, providing difficulties for the observer. The contrast in "sharpness" of speech between this dialect and other dialects of Tzotzil and Tzeltal with which this observer is familiar, is marked.

Releases from Articulation

The nature of the release seems to be the most important factor in this dialect for defining the characteristics of the various consonants.

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Types of Release

Release from No Glottal Closure.--The release may be either oral or nasal. There is essentially no difference in articulation, for example, between /n/ and /s/ except for the nasal or oral release.

It has been stated that all consonants tend to be released with a second, pre-vocalic, segment. That is, from non-glottal situations, this will be a short puff or air; an aspiration of the preceding consonant when released into a following vowel. The perception of this aspiration is also a function of several variables (aspiration, here, is not necessarily extra-oral).

Release from voiced consonants will not be heard except finally or before other consonants. Apparently the aspiration is voiced throughout and merely continues into the first segment of the following vowel. The aspiration is thus not perceptible except as a devoicing phenomenon, and no devoicing occurs within junctures between contiguous voiced sounds. Word-finally one can hear, for example, m.mm̥; l.l̥, etc. Audible release from voiceless consonants occurs as a function of the tone shift into the following syllable. Initially all voiceless non-glottalized consonants are relatively heavily aspirated. Two of these, /p, t/, seem to have aspirated release with, instead of following, the release of the articulation. It can easily be demonstrated that they are aspirated; the aspiration is so different in its audible qualities as to necessitate the test. The others have a slight puff of air following, before the voicing of the vowel, and are thus much clearer.

In a rising pitch situation (except a shift from high to low tone, which sometimes rises in pitch) there is a noticeable aspiration following all voiceless consonants medially. This is also quite clear in final position. With falling pitch, the previous vowel is lengthened, and the air release from the medial consonant seems to accompany the articulation release rather than follow it.

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These phenomena can be interpreted from another point-of-view; with rising pitch the consonant terminates the syllable. Its following aspiration begins the next syllable. With falling pitch, the consonant begins a syllable with essentially instantaneous air release.

In final position, the situation is analogous to the rising pitch, medial environment. The consonant seems to terminate the syllable, and the release is the consonant repeated, plus an echo aspiration; $-V^{1}C.CV^{1}$.

Release from Glottal Closure

Again, the release may be either oral or nasal. Here, there are no contrasting pairs of phonemes which have all oral or all nasal releases. However, the phoneme /b/ has an oral release initial and medial before vowels, but has a nasal release (with the identical oral articulation) medially before consonants and in final position.

In general, the timing of the glottal release, combined with release of the articulation, will define the kind of sound which is heard. Assuming that the closure of the glottis is essentially complete, the sounds which are described as glottalized involve an oral release of a compressed air pocket formed between the point of articulation and the glottis. This is followed by the glottal release, giving the characteristic click effect. But this release effect can also be seen as a devoiced aspirate release, from a small air column. Then, the only difference between glottal and non-glottal release seems to be the size of the air column and the relative pressure involved.

Although this is an essentially accurate description for what happens in citation forms, in rapid speech these clear distinctions begin to disappear. The time of the glottal release begins to move forward to coincide with the release from the point of articulation. When the glottis opens, the small com-

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pressed air column disappears. Thus, if the time of glottal release tends to be essentially simultaneous with the articulatory release, there is no click, no perceptible glottalized release. In fact, the only apparently distinguishing factor in normally fast speech between glottalized consonants and the others seem to be squeezing or glottal constriction which is very indistinct to the English-speaking observer.

In phrase or sentence final position, the classical (click) glottalized release always seems to be present. This is probably a statement also about the length of time associated with junctures. In other words, junctures do not tend to get "blurred," even in rapid speech. And one of the factors signalling junctures would be the presence of these click features.

Initially, the glottalized release seems to be carried over into the following vowel in the sense that the glottal constriction is present in the very beginning of the vowel. When another C' follows this vowel, the vowel is strongly constricted throughout. It is suggested that both the initial and following glottal constrictions affect approximately half of the vowel. This would account for the squeeze being heard through the duration of the vowel.

Medially, the situation is more complicated as the variables increase. Here, there is not only the possibility of glottal release and articulatory timing factors, but variation also occurs as a function of tone change, signalling of glottal constriction in the preceding vowel, etc. Part of the glottalization phenomenon medially is also a function of relative vowel length. Therefore, in any given environment, preceding vowel length signals the type of consonant to follow. The contrast between glottalized and non-glottalized consonants is thus preserved regardless of any difference in glottal quality of the following consonants. This would seem to mean that the glottal qualities, as click, are redundant and can be altered without losing any

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necessary contrasts between phonemes. In fact, there is considerable variation in this dialect. Most often there is no complete glottal closure. A squeeze in the previous vowel is carried through the consonant and there is little more indication of glottalization.

Consonant Allophones

There are no rounded allophones of any consonant phoneme, except in the following cases:

All pre-initial, initial and some medial C;s are rounded before /o/.

Medial C's in sequences of $-C^1.C^2-$ (where . is the point of syllabification) are rounded: $-C^1.$, following /o/; $.C^2-$, preceding /o/.

Final C's are rounded following /o/.

Audible aspirations have the phonetic shape of the following vowel: $C\underset{\sim}{V}^1V^1$ ($\underset{\sim}{V}$, non-syllabic aspiration), except in the case of final C's and syllable-final C's (before another C). The aspirations are phonetically similar to the preceding vowels in the latter cases, with a definite tendency to be centralized and forward ($\dot{+}<$); from all vowel positions.

The other major variable affecting consonant allophones is the tone of the syllable following the consonant, relative to the tone of that preceding it, or which it is in: where the following syllable is low tone, and the preceding high ($\acute{V}^1CV^1$), the allophones of many C's are different from their allophones in the other possible situations (V^1CV^2; $V^1C\acute{V}^2$; $\acute{V}^1C\acute{V}^2$).

Pre-initial C's have these phonetic characteristics:[1] /ɬ-/t̥s), /c/ (tš), /s-/, /š-/ are all followed by a high central aspiration ($C\dot{\underset{\sim}{+}}$-), and form a syllable. /p-, t-, k-/ occur pre-initially only in consonant clusters with /r/, not forming syllables, and having no apparent aspirations.

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[1] Symbols in parentheses are phonetic here.

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Tzotzil Phonemes

In word positions other than pre-initial, the consonants may be divided into several groups. Members of each group have similar phonetic properties. A short description of each of the consonant phonemes will be followed by a chart, giving the environments which affect the phonetic properties of at least some of the consonants. If the members of a group are all affected similarly, only the first, in order, will be described.

Voiceless Stops and Affricates

/p/ - Bilabial Stop	lower lip raised to contact upper lip.
/t/ - Dental Stop	tongue tip articulates with lower edge of upper teeth.
/ȼ/ - Dental Affricate	as /t/, but fricative release.
/c/ - Palatal Affricate	tongue blade articulates with central hard palate.
/k/ - Pre-velar or Velar Stop	tongue blade articulates with velum.

Two regular variants of /k/:

pre-velar: before /-i, -e, -al/

velar: before /-a, -u/ (/o/)

Voiceless Glottalized Stop and Affricate Phonemes

Since all of these are phonetically similar, and each has a matching non-glottalized phoneme, the most economical statement would be to say that there exist the phonemes listed above plus the component of glottalization.

/?/ - Glottal Stop

/b/ - Voiced Bilabial Stop has glottalic components in all positions, and generally affects vowels as if glottalized.

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Semivowels /w, h, y/

/w/ - Bilabial Spirant	has vocoid or contoid qualities as a function of the nearness of the lips to one another; voiced.
/h/ - Laryngeal/Velar Spirant	voiceless; has more, or less friction in different environments as a function of the location of the constriction.
/y/ - Dental Spirant	articulation formed with tongue blade and upper teeth (contrast with /s/, formed with tongue tip).

Dento-alveolar Top

/r/	single tap; tongue tip articulates near top of upper teeth.

Other Consonant Phonemes

All of the other consonants have only two regular variants, as a function of their position in the word. These may be broken into two sub-groups as a function of the presence of an echo vowel, or of a devoicing of the consonant in medial pre-consonant, or word-final positions.

Echo

/s/ - Dental Spirant	tongue tip proximates lower edge of upper teeth.
/š/ - Palatal Spirant	tongue blade proximates central hard palate.

Consonant De-Voicing

/m/ - Bilabial Nasal	voiced; otherwise similar to /p/.

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/n/ - Dental Nasal — voiced; otherwise similar to /t/.

/l/ - Palatal Lateral — voiced; tongue blade proximates central hard palate.

Vowel Allophonics

All vowels are squeezed or constricted throughout approximately the second half of their duration preceding /C', ?, b/.

There is no noted variation of vowels as a function the preceding C, except in the case of the vowel located between two of these /C', ?, b/. In the latter cases, the vowel is glottalized or squeezed throughout its entire duration.

Each of the five Tzotzil vowels may be said to have a basic phonetic description. They are very similar to the Spanish vowels except /e/, which is phonetically (ɛ), somewhat higher than American English /æ/; and /u/ which is (ɨ˃), similar to, but slightly back from /ɨ/ in American English. The others are: /i/ - (i), /a/ - (a), /o/ - (o). All variations will be measured from these.

Variations

Vowels (except /u/)--preceding /-t, -t', -?, -r/ have these allophones:

/i/ (i˅)

/e/ (ɛ˅)

/a/ (a˃)

/o/ (o˅)

Vowels preceding /-c, -k/ have these allophones:

/i/ (i˄)

/e/ (ɛ˄)

/a/ (a˂)

/o/ (o˄)

/u/ (ɨ˄)

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TABLE 1

CONSONANT ALLOPHONES[a]

/C/	#CV-	-V¹CV²	-V¹CV²[b]	-VC.C & Word Final	-VC.C & Phrase Final
p	p V¹	¹p(V)²	p(V)²	¹p˥	p.p V
t	|	|	|	t˥~ʔ˥	|
ȼ	|	|	|	tṣ	|
c	|	|	|	tš	|
k	|	|	|	k˥	|
p'	p ʔʔ	p (ʔ)	p ʔ	p ʔ˥	p.p ʔʔV
t'	|	|	|	|	|
ȼ'	|	|	|	|	|
c'	|	|	|	|	|
k'	|	|	|	|	|
b	m b ʔ	b (ʔ)	b (ʔ)	b ʔ˥~ m ʔ˥	b.m ʔV
?	ʔ	ʔ~V¹ʔV¹	ʔ~V¹ʔV¹	ʔ˥	ʔ.ʔ V
w	ƀ~v~u	ƀ	ƀ	ƀ~v	ƀ.ƀV
h	V	V²	¹V₊² ~ x	V	V.VV
y	i˘	———	———	———	i˘. i>V
r	ɹ	———	———	———	———
s	ṣ	———	———	———	ṣ.ṣV
š	|	|	|	|	š.šV
m	|	|	|	|	m.mm
n	|	|	|	|	n.nn
l	|	|	|	|	l.ll

¹V-aspiration ¹(V)-slight ¹V₊-vocal friction ¹˥-unreleased
V-non-syllabic
²C-fronted ²C.C-syllable

[a]All symbols are phonetic.

[b]V² not lower tone than V¹.

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These consonants also affect preceding vowels /-ǰ,-y, -Ø/:

/i/ before /-ǰ, -y/ (i^)

/e/ before /-ǰ, -Ø/ (ɛ^); before /-y/ (e)

/a/ before /-y/ (a<); before /-ǰ/ (a^)

/u/ before /-ǰ,-y/ (u^)

There is no noted variation of the vowel as a function of the preceding consonant, except in the case of the vowel between two glottalized consonants or glottal stops. In this case, the vowel is always glottalized or constricted throughout its duration.

Length and Pitch Variation (as a function of the relative tone of the following syllable, or of following terminal juncture)

¬ = a pitch drop or fall over the vowel segment.

Before /C'/ with the same or higher tone in the following syllable: (V̄).

Before other /C/ with the same or higher tone in the following syllable: (V).

Before /C'/, with lower tone in the following syllable: (V̄·).

Before other /C/ with lower tone in the following syllable: (V·).

Before /C'/, followed by terminal contour: (V·).

Before other /C/, followed by terminal contour: (V·).

Tones

Two tones are postulated: high and low.

There is a problem of obtaining tonal contrasts between monosyllabic forms; as "lum" - "earth," "lúm" - "dust." In isolation or citation form, the difference is attested to only by the major informant (B. Hidalgo), among several informants asked. He is probably sophisticated enough to run through a mental paradigm.

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When the same affix is added to two such identical forms, it becomes clear as to which form has high or low tone. (Example)--?ik' means "wind" or "black":

Add /-ik/ to both with the following results:

(k)ík'ik - "our wind" (the /k-/ has no phonological effect - 1 possessive).

(mal) ik'ík - "(very) black."

The /-ik/ suffix, itself, has no tone, but conforms to the tone of the root or stem.

There are a number of disyllabic and longer items which contrast only by tone:

?olíl - half, mid, middle.

?óliil - child.

mal k'ak'ál - in the afternoon; good afternoon (greeting form).

mál k'ak'ál - it is very hot.

(k'ak'al as a stem means either day or hot)

hák'betík - we ask you (sg).

hak'bétik - we are asked (they ask us).

(The root is /hak/ - the tonal difference is in the /bet/). /bet/ in both cases is a combination of be and -ot, the first -ot is the 2 sing. object form, and is toneless; thus the root retains its high tone. The second -ot (-ót) is a passive or unknown actor suffix, and always retains its high tone, forcing the root to "orient" to the -ót and have low tone. The -tik is toneless and conforms to the alternating tone sequence defined by what precedes it. If the final suffixes were -ik, instead of -tik, an s- prefix would precede the initial h-.

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Tonal Distributions

The statistically strongest pattern of tone distributions is alternation on every other syllable; a low followed by a high, by a low or vice versa.

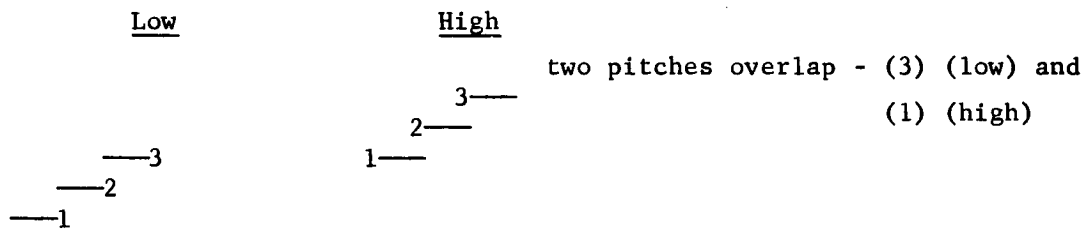
Given the tone of the root or stem, the tones of suffixes or prefixes may be predicted. Some suffixes always have high tone (-ót, -tés) and force orientation to them. Apparently some words always retain high or low pitches and will force other tone changes in preceding or following words.

Tonal Allophones (pitches)

Generally in this dialect, tones vary on alternate syllables in any stem (word).

There is a gradual rise in pitch toward the end of a word, regardless of tone (i.e., allophones of both tones rise), and regardless of the sequence being low-high or high-low.

Three possible pitch allophones of each tone are postulated. These range in pitch height in lineal or serial sequence (from the beginning to end of a word).



In hó?on the two syllables are approximately the same height since the first syllable of a word contains the lowest pitch allophone, and the last syllable contains the highest pitch allophone of either tone. In this word, the tones overlap on hó? (1) (high) and -on (3), (low); thus they sound approximately the same in terms of pitch.

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In longer sequences, the final high pitches are much more prominent than any others (higher):

hpímu b téswanéh - the person (he) who makes it thick (as cloth): the final -éh is most prominent, the tés is next most prominent; it takes a good deal of practice to even hear the high tone on the -pím segment.

The intermediate (2) pitch of either tone occurs only in sequences longer than four syllables. In the example above the -tés would have the (2), high pitch. The hpóm- and the -ub are the (1) allophones of high and low tone, respectively. The -wan and -éh are (3) of low and high tone, respectively.

The morphophonemics of the tones seem to be involved in defining one or more internal open junctures, thus making it difficult at present to say what the limits on numbers of tones in serial order would be. The arbitrary limit of six, fits most of the data, but leaves some unanswered questions.

Terminal Contours

Comma /,/

There are two allophones of comma. These vary as a function of the tone of the final vowel before the juncture. They are identical in that the vowel is held, but there is essentially no change in intensity; no diminution towards silence.

Slightly rising pitch (less often, held level) occurs if the final vowel has high tone.

Slightly falling pitch (less often, held level) occurs if the final vowel has low tone.

Apparently the only difference between the comma and the double-cross juncture is that the latter diminishes in intensity to silence. The comma

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occurs within the limits of the sentence, defined by either the double-bar or double-cross terminals.

Double-bar / // /

This is characterized by a high-rising final vowel which continues to rise in pitch as it diminishes in intensity to zero

It does not occur with question words as bák'in - "when," of k'úšci - "how" (corresponding to the use of such words in English). Apparently any other type of statement can be turned into a question without the use of me- (the question prefix), and needs only this terminal juncture. This defines a sentence and may contain one or more commas.

Double-cross /#/

There are two allophones of this juncture. Corresponding to comma, they occur as a function of the tone of the previous vowel before the juncture, hold this vowel, and fall in intensity to zero:

Slightly rising, or level occur with high tone.

Slightly falling or level occur following low tone; the pitch fall is light, corresponding more closely to a /3-2/, rather than a /3-1/ drop in pitch, as it usually occurs in English.

This defines a sentence and may contain one or more commas.

Consonants which may follow the final vowel before a terminal contour seem to have little to do with defining the contour. There are no consistent phenomena which occur only before or always before such junctures. For example, many of the release phenomena (as echo vowel) also may occur before any other consonant.

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CHAPTER II

WORD CLASSES

Canonical Forms

The basic form of the root in Tzotzil is CVC. Secondarily, another basic form is CVCVC, but the final VC of the latter type is limited in its distribution, and probably much more recent historically. The forms, CVCVC, with high tone on the second syllable are cognate with an internal -H-, (CVHC), in the neighboring, closely related language, Tzeltal.[1]

Although roots of the form CV and CVVC or CVCV do occur, they are relatively few in number. Many of the CVCV roots are direct loans from Spanish, which has had a great influence on this dialect.

Most of the longer forms are stems derived from CVC forms. Some are, again, Spanish loans, and a few point either to derivation which is no longer functional in the language or to possible dialect mixture and influence by other Tzotzil speakers and nearby Tzeltal speakers with whom the San Bartoleños communicate.

The affixes are of the shapes, with few exceptions, CV, -VC, and CVC. These combine with stems, in fixed orders, to compose often lengthy forms. Such lengthy forms are usually to be taken as structural statements about order and distribution of affixes; entire possible forms probably never actually occur.

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[1]Terrence Kaufman, personal communication (1961).

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Morphological Word Classes

The labels which are applied to morphological classes in a language (and culture) other than one's own are usually derived from one's personal metaphysics and from the history of one's predecessors, who have performed similar operations in going from their native language to another. Granting this, there are two classes which are so generally similar to those in English that they can be relatively easily labelled: nouns and verbs. Beyond this, it has been difficult to extend labels to Tzotzil. Other classes in Tzotzil are less than equivalent to similar classes in English. Therefore, the attempt has been made to show how forms operate or function, and their occurrence and distribution within the structure of Tzotzil. Labels have been given to a number of forms but these are taken to be tentative and meaningful only within the Tzotzil world.

One problem in the analysis of Tzotzil is in the homonomy of affixal particles. The particles which are considered to form the inflectional apparatus for many Tzotzil verbs are the same as the nominal possessive particles. The temporal pre-verbal non-past particle (ta) is identical to the prepositional particle which precedes most nominal phrases and nouns. It can thus be stated that even verbs and nouns are very similar to each other in Tzotzil, and may be identical depending on context.

It is still not difficult to separate several morphological classes from one another, because certain roots, while having some number of inflections or affixes in common with others do have some uniquenesses with respect to one or more affixes, inflectional or derivational, with which they may occur.

With respect to a complete distributional study, more uniquenesses are discoverable, but these are related more to sub-sets of morphological

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classes, rather than to the consideration of word classes themselves.

Verbs and Nouns

In terms of morphological considerations alone, verbs and nouns can be generally defined and separated from one another. In addition several subclasses of verbs can be described.

Transitive verbs (T) and NOUNS (N)--(and Pronouns; below) share the following characteristics (see Chapter III for regular exceptions to these statements):

	Person (T) Possessive (N)	Root (Stem)	Plural Person
1st	h-	"	-tik
2nd	a-	"	-ik
3rd	s-	"	-ik

Nouns

Most nouns can take the plural suffix -etik. This is not true of any verbs except for the small number which are actually homonymous with nouns.

Other nouns, which do not take this suffix, can only be classified as nouns in terms of their sharing identical syntactic distributions with the large class of nouns which take -etik. Nouns which are not morphologically classifiable can be divided roughly into several classes:

Mass Nouns

These stems refer to objects or entities which are inherently plural, or made up of many smaller things or pieces; e.g., lum ("soil"), panín ("ground corn").

Proper Names

These occur as head nouns in nominal phrases (Chapter VII).

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Geographical Names

Such stems occur in locative nominal phrases (Chapter VII). They are always preceded by the prepositional particle, ta-.

Calendrical Names (and Time Particles)

These occur in statements of fixed or relative time (hours, days, months and phrases like, "now," "this morning," etc.). These also act as head nouns, occurring in final position in nominal phrases.

It should be noted that, while not taking the regular plural suffix of nouns, these forms also cannot take any verbal suffixes.

In addition, there are a number of sub-classes or sub-sets of nouns. Tzotzil divides its universe of discourse in many and varied ways, as a function both of inherent or enduring properties, and of characteristics of objects which are somehow important in particular contexts.

It is also pointed out in Chapter VII, that nouns can act as verbals in other manners than those discussed above. In nominal phrases, they sometimes seem to act like stative verbs, taking the personal verbal suffixes which are otherwise only taken by the stative verbs. These are clearly not like the possessives discussed earlier. It is also pointed out that some verbals act like nouns, syntactically.

Thus, only some nouns are classifiable solely by morphological criteria. Although this class includes the majority of nouns, there are still a very large number of forms which act like nouns only analogically; by syntactic criteria.

Verbs

Considering morphological criteria only, the verbs may be distinguished from other forms. Defining the actual number of verb classes is, however, somewhat difficult since a sub-class of verbs, defined by one structural

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criterion, often acts like another sub-class by some other criterion.

As discussed earlier, transitive (T) verbs share a number of characteristics with nouns; but no verb may take the noun plural suffix, -etik.

A characteristic shared by all the forms which are referred to here, as verbs, is the ability to be inflected for the imperative; not true of nouns. By this criterion there are two classes of verbs: (T) and intransitive (I). The imperative suffixes are: (T), -o; (I), -an.

Of the verbs which take the imperative suffix, -an, there are two subclasses: (I) verbs and stative (S) verbs. Semantically, the (S) verbs have to do with a "state of being," while other verbs most generally concern an "action" or change of circumstance.

There is nothing peculiar about the distribution of morphophonemes in the main group of (I), but the (S) class all end in -Vl. These form the imperative by dropping the -V(l), and adding -an: nákal - náklan! (to live - live!). The regular (I) stems merely add -an: bat - batán! (to go - go!).

To further justify the difference between (I) and (S) verbs, it may be pointed out that (S) verbs are inflected for person only by suffixes. This is not true of (I) verbs which are inflected for person by prefixes.

Basically, then, there seem to be only these three major classes of verbs. This analysis will be taken as a model for further statements.

Verbal Function

The labels which have been used to describe these verbs are, of course, derived by extra-linguistic considerations. (T) verbs may have an object; (I) verbs have no objects, but (S) verbs may have objects, sometimes.

There are a number of non-morphological criteria which can be used to distinguish these classes from one another. However, a certain degree of confusion persists in the present analysis since the three different forms tend

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to act like one another in some contexts. And there appears to be nothing in the linguistic structure, itself, which contributes to the understanding of this problem.

With reference particularly to the term, stative, it may be suggested that the cultural perception of time or temporality will be rather important in attempting to understand the functioning of the Tzotzil verbs. Each type of verb, and at least some nouns and adjectives, seem to be able to act statively. If a (T) or (I) verb is not preceded by a tense marker (ta-, ba-, etc.) it seems to concern a state of being: Ø spás mésa vs. tas pás mésa ("He makes tables, now" vs. "He is making table(s), now.") The major difference between the two forms seems to lie in the difference between two kinds or concepts of now. The first example refers to the profession or vocation of the person; now, in the general sense, as opposed to what he used to do. The second form has to do with the present context of the interaction in which this is uttered; the table is being make right now, as we are talking. The man's profession is not relevant to the statement. The concept of stative, then, implies an extensive degree of knowledge about Tzotzil culture.

Some nouns and adjectives can act as statives: mól - mólun (adjective - large; I am large); wínik - wínikún (N, man: I am a man, manly).

Additionally, most (S) forms (ending in -Vl) have alternate or similar (T) forms and adjective forms. The stems of which this is true are, semantically, spacially or structurally descriptive. For example:

(h)p'éc	Adjective (A)	one: flat object (numeral classifier).
p'éc	(T)	to hold or have a flat object.
p'ecán	(T)	to lay a flat object down.
p'écel	(S)	a flat object, lying down.

Given these facts, it is not difficult to see that root forms are often many things. The distinctions among them are often subtle and based

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on personal or shared information between interactors. Such information is rarely discussed, probably being self-evident to the Tzotziles. It involves an extensive analysis of context, which is not the usual domain for the descriptive linguist.

Adjectives and Adverbs

By morphological criteria, these two labels describe only a single word class in Tzotzil. Even syntactically, most of the forms which modify nouns are identical with those which can modify verbs. The root, lek ("good," "well"), for example, occurs either prenominally or alone in nominal phrases, and pre- or post-verbally in verbal phrases. Most of these forms can be inflected for plural number; which is also true of all of the verbs.

They can also be inflected for person, which makes them very similar to (S) verbs, but they cannot take an imperative suffix. They may thus be distinguished, if only negatively, as a morphological class.

However, the syntactic positions in which they can occur are actually very limited. They may be inflected for plural only post-verbally (not pre-verbally); and only when the verb, itself, is not pluralized. In nominal phrases they may be inflected for both person and number; but only when no noun occurs in the nominal phrase. Thus, while forming a distinct morphological class, they are very restricted in terms of function or position.

In addition, the plural suffixes are not all the same. The forms which function adverbally, and some which function as adjectives are inflected for plural by the suffix, -ik. Others, the numeral classifiers, add -ahtik. It is entirely possible that these are different kinds of plurals; but it is also possible that the kinds of conceptions and qualities, with which these forms are concerned, also differ. Some of these differences will be discussed in Chapter VII.

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Numeral Classifiers

These form a set of adjectives which have properties both of number and classification. They are called classifiers because they precede some number of nouns, all of which refer to objects having a common factor or property, to the Tzotzil speakers. They point to the characteristic inherent in the numeral classifier (N.C.), and place the accompanying nouns in a generic class. Some numeral classifiers have to do with forms, or parts of things. A given object might have several properties, but the point at issue, the important thing or focus is attended to in a given context; e.g., the "roundness" or the "straightness" or "coiledness" of a piece of rope.

They do not always occur with the nouns they classify, even if there appears to be a fixed relationship between the noun and a given numeral classifier. Their presence or lack of presence may be a mark of acculturation, style, or other extra-linguistic factors of particular speakers in certain contexts.

They are numeral in that they are always preceded by a number. Numbers often occur without classifiers, but the reverse is not true. A special set of shortened or changed numeral forms occur with the numeral classifiers:

Number:	without N.C.	with N.C.	
	hún	h- & N.C.	one . . .
	cíb	cá? & N.C.	two . . .
	?ošíb	?oš & N.C.	three . . .
	caníb	cán & N.C.	four . . .

There are at least some adjective-adverb forms which have been found to occur only with verbs or only with nouns. These do not differ morphologically from the other members of this class, so this may be stated only in syntactic distributional terms. The differences between the members of this class which occur adjectivally and those which occur only adverbally does

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not appear to be determinable within the scope of this study. Some of these will be listed in Chapter VII.

Pronouns

There is a class of stems in Tzotzil which are inflected in the manner already described for verbs and nouns, and which may not be further inflected. Some of these translate into English as pronouns. The pronoun, as subject or object of the sentence, is rarely used since this function is usually handled within the verbal complex. It seems to function as an emphatic when it does occur. Other stems in this class translate as: "all of" (tekel, -hunal), "to want to" (-o?n), "to sense, hear, feel" (-a?i).

Particles

A relatively large number of forms occur in Tzotzil which are not inflected or derived or otherwise definable by morphological criteria above. These are classed under the broad term, particles, but they may be separated into several groups by non-morphological criteria.

Sounds

There seem to be no structural rules by which this class of particles may be defined. They do not occur within any larger linguistic frames. Some are phonologically related to the word for the object or animal which makes the sound, or to the stem which expresses the action by which the sound is made.

Question Words

There are a number of Tzotzil particles which seem to be primarily concerned with questions. These include those words which are glossed in English as: who, when, where, what, etc.

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Subordinate Clause Particles

A number of particles, many borrowed from Spanish, introduce clauses or phrases. Some few of these are clearly related to the responses to some question words. Others somehow qualify the statement which they usually introduce. Some of the forms are: péro ("but"); pórke, koh ("because"); ca? ("well").

Inflective, Derivative and Other Productive Particles

Some Tzotzil particles are actively productive. A number of these have the functions of being inflective or derivative, with respect principally to nouns and verbs. These will be discussed later in Chapters IV, V and VII.

Other productive particles are multi-functional and/or widely distributed. Some such particles (e.g., -to-, -uk-) occur with verbs, nouns, adjectives and other particles of one or more different types as described in this section. The fact that they are ubiquitous is one of the things which causes them to remain as descriptive problems.

Some of these productive particles seem to convey the same or any similar kind of meaning, conception or idea regardless of where they occur; e.g., -to seems to be concerned with extension, spacial or temporal; further or longer, than would otherwise be conveyed if it were not present.

Other such particles seem to differ in meaning, to some degree at least, depending on the kind of stem with which they occur; e.g., Verb and -šа connotes that the action has just happened at the time referred to; Numeral Classifier and -šа means that another one or set of the described objects is being referred to.

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Introductory Particles

Other particles do not join on to nouns, verbs, and adjectives, but act as introducers to certain kinds of phrases. For example, the particle ta- is phonemically and morphemically identical in its distribution. It usually introduces verbal phrases, implying a kind of temporality. With a few exceptions, it introduces locative nominal phrases. It also introduces many temporal nominal phrases. It is difficult to show or infer that its meaning or function is even similar in its different environments, although the most productive assumption would be to first consider it to be the same everywhere.

These particles are illustrated and discussed later, as part of the morphology and syntax. It is shown that some particles have an extremely wide distribution, and that it is sometimes very difficult to decide if they are the same in a connotative sense, or merely homonymous.

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CHAPTER III

MORPHOPHONEMICS

The possibility of change in morphophonemic structure of morphemes exists whenever two or more morphemes are joined in compounding or affixation. Morphophonemic variation in S. Bartolo Tzotzil occurs in many situations, but is greatest in the structure of the verb and verbal complex (see Chapter VI). Variation also occurs in derivational and other inflectional situations as well. Tones vary as the number of syllables changes, introducing the necessity for a hierarchical notion. Phrase final -e has a distribution which is, in part, related to the preceding occurrence of particular morphemes.

Pre-verbal Inflection[1]

š-, Subject Prefixes

In the second and third pre-verbal positions (see Chapter IV), are the prefixes š- followed by i-, a-, Ø-. Thus, the following combinations are possible: (1) ši- (first person); (2) ša- (2); (3) š- (3). These are subject to a number of rules depending on what precedes and/or follows them, and so these may appear in a number of different forms, including zero.

---

[1]This is presented as a separate section because it relates specifically to the verb. The verb cannot be understood without these rules. Some of the rules will be repeated below and arranged with similar phenomena, by other criteria. Where possible, inflected forms of a single verb stem -míl ("to kill"), have been used to help make the presentation more easy to follow. It is one of the few Tzotzil verbs which is semantically not difficult to handle with respect to time.

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There are three types of verb stems to consider: (1) intransitive (I) stems; (2) transitive (T) stems of the shape √?V-; (3) (T) stems (others).

(I) Stems

The following rules apply in general to all stems, but will be expanded or modified for (T) stems, as necessary. The š- forms are subjects with (I) verbs.

ta-[1]	and	ši-	→ taši-	(equivalence)	tašíbat	I go
ta-	and	ša-	→ ta-[2]		tabát	you (sg.) go
ta-	and	š-	→ c-	(tš-)	cbát	he goes

(T) Stems of the Shape √?V- (e.g., ?íl - to see)

These have a special set of replacement rules:

1 person	? → k[3]	ckíl - I see it
2 person	? → w	tawíl - you (sg.) see it
3 person	? → y[4]	c(y)íl - he sees it

Other (T) Stems (non- √?V)

Here, there are no replacement rules. Instead, there appear the first position pre-verbal prefixes: h-, a-, s- (or š); 1, 2, 3 person subjects. The rules for the (I) verbs hold, but the (I) subject prefixes occur here as objects only with third person subjects.

---

[1] ta- temporal marker (right now)--not general present (these days).

[2] In all cases such as ta- and ša- → ta-; the ša- will reappear if further prefixed by the pre-verbal particles ša- or ?oš-.

[3] ta- and (?→k) → taš → c. The š- is always present in these forms.

[4] ta- and š- and y- (c- and y-) → c c(y)il → cíl. The rules for stems (above) hold, except that the forms š- and (i-, a-, Ø-) are object, not subject forms with (T) verbs and do not occur except as objects occur.

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Since the š- prefix forms do not occur with first and second person, the following rules must be added:

ta-	and h- → tah- (equivalence)	tahmíl - I kill it
ta-	and a- → ta-	tamíl - you (sg.) kill it
ta-	and s- → ȼ- (ts-)	ȼmíl - he kills it

The third person is formed as follows: (with the š- set of objects).

taši-	and s- → tašis-	tašismíl - he kills me
ta(ša)-	and s- → tas-[1,2]	tasmíl(ot) - he kills you (sg.)
taš-	and s- → ȼ-[3]	ȼmíl - he kills him (other person)

Other Pre-Verbal Prefixes

la-

la- and a- → la- lamíl - you (sg.) killed it (la- completive with (T) verbs)

te-

te- and me- → tem- temba smílwan - of he goes to kill (te- "there is" - "certifier" of the action, no doubt at all)

me-

(dubitative - "if")

me- and ta and ša- → meša- mešamíl - if you (sg.) kill it

me- and ȼ- (me- and ta- and s-) → mes- mesmíl - if he kills it

ba-

ta- and ba- → tba- tbahmíl - I will kill it (ba- futurative)

---

[1]The only way in which it could be known that an object occurs is that the taš- never becomes ȼ-, as it would if there were no reflex of the second person object, ša-; the -ot, 2 person sg. object is optional and often does not appear.

[2]ta- and ša- → ta-

[3]From: š- and s- → s

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General Morphophonemic Changes

Loss of Vowel in Inflection

ta- (pre-verbal) - "temporal marker"

ta- and š- → c	cm ílwan - he is killing
ta- and š- and y- → c	cíl - he sees (or c- and y- → c-)
ta- and s- → ɬ	cmíl - he kills it
ta- and ba → tba-	tbamíl - I will kill it (ba- futurative with (T) verbs)
ta- and a- → ta-	tamíl - you (sg.) kill it

be (post-verbal) - indirective

-be and -ot (2 sg. obj.) → bet	tahmílbet - I kill it (of you - sg.)
-be and -ót (passive (T) → bet	ɬmilbét - they're killing it (of him)
-be and -un (1st obj.) → ben	tamílben - you (sg.) kill it (mine)
-be and -el (passive (T) → bel	basmílbelún - maybe they're going to kill it (mine)

te-

te- and me- → tem-	tembasmílwan - if he goes to kill

la-

la- and a- → la	lamíl - you (sg.) killed him

Statives (positional) and an! (post-verbal imperative)

-Vl and -an → -lan	wá?al - wá?lan	(it's) standing - stand up!
	kúšul - kúšlan	(it's) living - live!

Some stems ending with -Vn (root or stem preceding)

--Vn & -an! → -nan	ɬísin- - ɬísnan!	to flatulate, flatulate! (verbs derived from nouns)
--Vn & -ab → -nab	nic'on - nic'nab	son, sons (kinship terms)

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--ob

--ob and -etik → betik ɬéob - ɬébetík daughter, daughters

Loss of Vowel in Derivation

--an and -el → nel ɬá?an - ɬá?nel to defecate, diarrhea

--um and -al(tik) → mal(tik) ?úk'um - ?uk'máltik river, place of rivers

Loss of Consonant in Inflection

h and h → h	h- and hól → hól	my head
s and s → s	s- and séɬ' → séɬ'	his soup place
š and š → š	š and šótwan → šótwan	he makes it curve
s and š → š	spás and šasmíl → špášasmíl	he can kill you (sg.)
š and s → s	ta?oš and smíl → tá?osmíl	finally, you (sg.) are killing him
š and h → š	ta?oš and hmíl → ta?ošmíl	finally, I'm killing it
c and y → c	c- and yíl → cíl	he sees
š and y → š	š- and yílša → šílša	now, he sees
n and -tutik → Øtutik	tešmílun and -tútik → tešamílutútik	we (exc.) kill you (sg.)
n and -kutik → Økutik	tešmílun and -kútik → tešamílukútik	we (inc.) kill you (sg.)

Loss of Consonant in Derivation

-n and -ta → ta	šen(I) and -ta → šetá	vomit, cause to vomit
-c and -š → š	héc and šci → héšci	yes; he says; yes, that's so

Assimilation and Loss of Consonant

Inflection

-k and -k → k	múc'utík and ku?un → múc'utikú?un	those persons and mine--my family
-t and -t → t	bat and -to → bató	go and still--still go
-n and -n → n	hún and -no → húno	one and only--only one

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Derivation

-n and -m → m ?átin and mol → ?átimól bathe, bath

Change and Loss of Consonant

Inflection

-t and -t → r bat and -tik → barík we go, or let's go!

Derivation

-t and -š → c ?ibát and -ša → ?ibáca he just went

Loss of CV (VC)

Inflection

ta-

ta- and ša- → ta tamíl[1] you (sg.) kill it

ta- and šámbah (I) → támbah[2] he goes walking

šámbah (I) to walk

me-

me- and ta (ša-, non-appearing) → meša mésamíl if you kill it

me and ɬ(tas-) → mes mesmíl if he kills it

-el

-el and -il (etik) → -il (etik) wínkilél and íletik – wínkilíletík body (ies)

Derivation

-ul and -ub – ub t'úšul and -ub → t'úšub (it's) wet, to become wet (I)

---

[1]Probably loss of (t)aš(a) - as (ta- and ba → tba-).

[2]Probably by analogy with (ta- and ša- → ta-) and (te- and me- → tem-)

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Assimilation of Vowel(s) and Loss of Consonant

mu- and ša- → maa-	mu- and šamíl → máamíl	don't you (sg.) kill him! (mu-neg. particle)
muto and ša- → mataa	muto and samíl → matáamíl	you (sg.) still don't kill it (to-intensifier of space or time)

Assimilation of Vowel(s) and Loss of CV(VC)

mu- and ša- → ma-	mámbah	he doesn't walk

Replacement (Change) of Vowel(s)

Inflection (these include loss of final -al)

-a- → -o-	píšalál → hpišól	hat, my hat
mátanál → hmotón		present, my present,

Derivation

-o- → -a-	tót and ub → tátub	thick, to become thick (a liquid)

Replacement (Change) of Consonant

Inflection

?- → k-	k- and ?ánɬ → kánɬ	my lover
?- →(?a)w-	(?a)w- and ?-anɬ → ?awánɬ	your (sg.) lover
?- → y-	y- and ?ánɬ → yánɬ	his lover
-k'- → -?-	?ák' and be → ?á?be	give it, give it to him

Derivation

-c- → -t-	?óc and -és → otés	enter, put in
-c'- → -t'-	?éc' and -és → ?et' és	pass, pass it
-h- → -l-	sábah and -tés → sábaltés	to do (it) rapidly
-n- → -l-	nupún and -tés → núpultés	to marry (him)

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Assimilation of Consonants

Progressive

lCVk → lCVl (k → l) ht'últak and tik → ht'últaltík my (our) rabbits

Retrogressive

s → š (presence of -š-, -c-, -c'-; 3 person possessive or in verbs)

s- and pecéc → špecéc his hay

s- and kéšu → škéšu his cheese

s- and c'ókal → šc'ókal his pimple

Morpheme and Ø--Morpheme and Morpheme

šа- and Ø → šaša[1] ta(Ø)mílun and šа- → taššámílun now, you (sg.) kill me

?oš- and Ø → ?oš(š)a ta(Ø)mílun and ?oš- → ta?óšamílun now, you (sg.) kill me, now

Compounds

Assimilation of Vowel

bu and -?o → o?o bu and ?óy → bo?óy where is he? (bu?óy also occurs)

Loss of Consonant

Loss of --n takín and wáh → takíwah dry + tortilla → dry tortilla

Loss of --l báɬ'il and k'óp → báɬ'ik'óp right and word → our language

Loss of one of two idential consonants

-t- and t- → -t- ɬ'ét and té? → ɬ'eté? cut down and tree → Aguacatenango (a village)

Morphophonemics of Tones[2]

The tones are defined as accompanying the vowel of a single syllable. Therefore, any syllable may have high tone or low tone. Words tend to have

---

[1]Probably the presence of the š- in these two particles causes the sa- to occur.

[2]A high tone on the second syllable of a two syllable word as in k'ak'ál,

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and to retain a particular configuration of tones in most constructions. Particles and affixes also have tones which they retain.

Toneless Affixes

There are, however, a group of affixes which, when joined with other syllables to form longer constructions, lose or change their tonal configurations in order to conform to the tones of the words to which they are joined. These will be called toneless.

Consider the plural suffix of non-possessed nouns, -etik. The tones of this form may be either low-high or high-low in sequence. There are no syllables which do not have a tone. The tone sequence of -etik will depend on the tonal sequence of the words to which it is added: since, in general, the tonal sequence varies in groups of two.

wínik and -etik → wínikétik	man, men	-étik
ɬ'í? and -etik → ɬ'í?etík	dog, dogs	-etík

The Hierarchy of Tones

Tone Shifts

Apparently, high tones adhere to certain affixes or particles to the extent that they override the inherent tones of a root or stem. Thus, if certain affixes are added to a root, the root may change its tone. But these particular particles or affixes always retain their high tone.

-ót passive verbal suffix

hák' - to ask (T)

(k'ak'áletík - day, days) generally corresponds to a first syllable configuration of CVhC in Tzeltal dialects. This infixed -h- is generally lost in Tzotzil, but preserved in this dialect. Since some of the infixed -h's are lost in Tzeltal, but preserved in the tones of this dialect, this dialect is important, historically, in the reconstruction of proto-Tzeltal-Tzotzil.

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tashák'ik - they ask it

temtábahák' - if you (sg.) are going to ask it

hák'betík - we ask it of him h: -hak': -be: -Ø -tik
1: root: indirective: 3 obj. 1 pl. subj.

In all of these forms, the root, hák', retains its high tone, the affixes added thus far appear to be toneless. But if the passive -ót is added, the minimal contrast (with the last example) is formed:

hak'bétik they ask me, (I am) asked h: -hak': -be -ót :-tik
1: root : indirective:passive:1pl. subj.

-tés

transitivizer tahín - táhintés to play (I), to play it (T)

báil - noun derivative affix

míl milbáil to kill, murder

Other tone shifts are apparently syntactically determined, but the rules (assuming such exist) have not yet been discovered.

Some types of words shift tone merely with the addition of another syllable; apparently regardless of the morphemic shape of the syllable which has been added. Numbers are an example:

láhunéb 10

ʔóšlahúneb 13 (3 and 10)

cánlahúneb 14 (4 and 10)

But this type of shift is not true of all such forms; i.e., three to four syllables.

There is another pattern of five syllables. When a three syllable noun has a high tone on the second syllable and adds -etik, there is a tone shift. This pattern exists in many loan words where the Spanish had a penultimate stress, picked-up as high tone in this dialect.

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tešéreš - téšerésetík scissors, pair of scissors (Sp. tijeras)

?enkéleš - ?énkelésetík stranger, strangers (Sp. inglés)

The following is extracted from two sentences in the same text:

hwo?é bankílal (one: person, older brother)

cá?wo?šá bánkilále (two: person other, older brother)

The first example takes the predicted tones. But the shift is, as yet, unexplained. The final -e seems to contribute nothing to the shift, as checked-out with many other examples.

Informants' reaction to the sound shift is only that it "sounds right"; they are consistent in assigning tones in such circumstances.

The study of the tones in this dialect is far from complete. Several texts have been analyzed tone-by-tone in an attempt to discover some types of pattern. Because of the consistency of informants in assigning tones to the same utterances, we feel it certain that patterns and rules exist to be discovered.

Final -e

The distribution of phrase-final -e can be shown to be limited as a function of the occurrence of any of the following forms:

li?-		li?é; lí? teklúme (here, here in town)
te-	"Location" in nominal phrases	tée; té teklume (there, there in town)
tah-		táhe; táh teklúme (yonder . . . in town)
le?-	"Location" in verbal phrases	lé?oyúne (here I am)
te?		té?oyé (there he is)

Final -e also occurs, terminating phrases introduced by te-, me- and other particles. In these cases, however, their occurrence with -e is a function not merely of their presence, but of the syntactic form and function of the phrase in which they are found; i.e., the -e does not consistently occur except with the particles listed above.

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CHAPTER IV

INFLECTION

Verb Inflection

Verbal Suffixes (see Table 2)[1]

Inflection will mean here that these affizes may go with essentially any verb stem; as derivative affixes cannot. The bounds on where inflection ends and particle syntax begins, is somewhat arbitrary, although it appears that a good case can be made for the divisions made here.

+1, +2 - Derivation Positions[2] (see Chapter V)

These occur only with certain roots or stems and are thus excluded from our definition of inflection.

+3 -wan, -tan

-wan; Intransitivizer - with any (T)

taš̌imílwan	I kill	(taš̌imíl - I kill it)
mílwanán	kill!	(mílo - kill!)

---

[1]The use of a single verb root -míl ("to kill") has been used whenever possible, so the examples will be easier to follow. The forms have been checked out exhaustively with several other stems and in textual material. This word was used in eliciting forms in the field work situation since it is one of the few common Tzotzil words with a connotation of instantaneous action; therefore helpful in discovering time relationships.

[2]The numbers refer to particle positions on either side of the verb stem; plus is on the right, and minus to the left, measured from the stem.

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TABLE 2

VERBAL SUFFIXES

Root (stem)	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6	+7	+8	+9	+10	+11	+12
(T)	-Derivation-		-tan	-(u)lan		-be	-o	-oh	-el		2-ik	1-un 2-ot
			-wan						-ót		3-ik	3-Ø
(I)	-Derivation-			-Vlah	-em		-an		(-ót)	1-uk 2-an 3-uk		

	+13	+14	+15
(T)	(u) kú (u) tú	1-tik 2-ošuk 3-ik	-ik
(I)	(u) kú (u) tú	1-tik 2-ik 3-ik	-ik

-tan; Pluralizes Object - any (T)

lamíltanbé	you (sg.) killed them (of him)
míltanó	kill them!

+4 -(u)lan, -Vlah

-(u)lan; Customary, Habitual or Often-Repeated Action - any (T)

The (u) occurs with monosyllables and disappears when preceded by more than a single syllable.

spásulán	he does it often, many times
smílulán	he kills many times
smíltanlán	he kills them, many times

-Vlah; Customary, Habitual Repeated Action - any (I) - same as Vlan (T)

cbátuláhik	they go often	(bat - to go (I)
?ik'ótiláh	he arrived many times	(k'ót) - to arrive (I)

+5 -em - Perfective - any (I)

Implies knowledge of speaker concerning action, previous to the act itself.

?ibátemík	they have, had gone (they had told me they would go)
mílwanémun	I have, had killed (un - 1 sg. subject - when ta- (or ba-) is not present, verb seems to be able to act as if it is stative.

+6 -be - Indirective - any (T)

Implies that the object is something related to the person spoken about.

lahmílbe	I killed it (of him)	(lahmíl - I killed it)
hák'beó	ask him it!	(hák' - to ask (T))

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+7 Imperative

-o; Imperative - any (T)

mílo	you (sg.) kill it!
míloík	you (pl.) kill it!
mílbeóik	you (pl.) kill it (his)!

-an; Imperative - any (I)

batán	you (sg.) go!
bátaník	you (pl.) go!
mílwanán	you (sg.) kill!

+8 -oh - Perfective - any (T) (as +5, above)

lahmílbeóh	I have, had killed it (his)
hmílohtík	we had killed it

+9 Passive

-el; Passive or Generalized Third Person Subject

Any (T); in terms of the translations and explanations of informants, this seems to imply that there is a generalized 3rd person actor, unknown; a "he" or "they," who are doing this to any object.

basmílelún	I'm going to be killed (he, they are going to kill me)
ćmílelót	you (sg.) are being killed (he, they are killing you)

-ót; Passive (as -el above)

Any (T) stem; but, in some cases, this form is accompanied by intransitive subject prefixes.

?ímilót	he was killed ("they killed him")
tašímilót	I am being killed ("they're" killing me)

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These both have intransitive personal subject prefixes. One of the possible differences between these and the following example, in meaning, is that the use of intransitive prefixes may indicate that the subject is unknown. The use of transitive prefixes may indicate that this is passive, and that the subjects are "known."

lasmilót he was being killed

+10 -uk, -an, -uk (1st, 2nd, 3rd person) Any (I) stem.

When the stem is preceded by certain particles or preverbal auxiliaries, this form occurs. Some of these pre-verbal forms are: ?ák'o, ba, yúl, etc. The -uk series does not occur when these forms precede transitive verbs. The same particle occurs with some other particles, suggesting that this is not an inflective particle even though occurring in this position in the verbal structure.

ba bátukún I am going to go

?ák'o táluk (in order) that he comes (tál - to come (I))

ba bátaník you (pl.) are going to go

+11 -ik, -ik (2nd, 3rd person subjects, plural) Any (T)

tamílikún you (pl.) kill me

tawá?beikún you (pl.) give it to me (?ábe - give it (T))

tašismílik they kill me

+12 Singular Subjects, Singular Objects

-un, -ot, -Ø (1st, 2nd, 3rd person singular objects) Any (T)

-un.-

tamílun you (sg.) kill me

lasmílikún they killed me

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-ot.-

tahmílot — I kill you (sg.)

lahmílotútik — we (two) kill you (sg.)

-Ø.-

tamílØ — you (sg.) kill him

lasmílØ — he kills him (other person)

-un, -Ø,-Ø (1st, 2nd, 3rd person singular subjects with -uk form; verb preceded by pre-verbal auxiliary)
Any (I)

ba bátukún — I'm going to go

bá batánØ — you (sg.) are going to go

bá batúkØ — he is going to go

+13 -(u)tú - (u)kú

1st person plural, exclusive and inclusive - (T) or (I). The (u) has shown up in a few cases as a short or changed form of the preceding -un, the 1st person object or subject suffix; but it occurs rarely. The concepts of inclusive and exclusive involve seeing or having knowledge about such relationships in a given interaction.

-tú; Exclusive

tamílutútik — you (sg.) kill us

tašimílwanutútik — we kill - "we," being in some geometric or conceptual relationship as family, friends, neighbors, standing next to one another, etc.

-kú; Inclusive

tamílukútik — you (sg.) kill us (including, probably, "yourself")

tašimílwanukútik — we kill (e.g., about human nature)

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+14 Plural Subject, Plural Objects

-tik - 1st Person Plural Subject

Any (T). Often neither the -tú or -kú precede this form. So it has the dual use of both subject and object.

tahmíltik	we kill it
lahmílbetík	we killed it (his)

When the -tú or -kú precede, the -tik is the 1st person plural, subject form (see examples in +13 above).

-tik, -ošuk, -ik (1st, 2nd, 3rd Person Plural Objects) Any (T)

-tik (this is preceded by -tú, -kú)

taš̆ismílukútik	he, they kill us (inclusive)
tamílutútik	you (sg., pl.) kill us (exclusive)

-ošuk

tahmílošúk	I kill you (pl.)
lasmílošúk	he killed you (pl.)

-ik

tahmílik	I kill them
lasmílik	he killed them

-tik, -ik, -ik (1st, 2nd, 3rd Person Plural Subjects) Any (I)

-tik (also sometimes preceded by -tú, -kú)

taš̆íbatík	we go
taš̆ímilwánutútik	we (two) kill

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-ik

tak'ópohík you (pl.) speak (k'ópoh - to speak (I))

tabátik you (pl.) go

-ik

ck'ópohík they speak

cmílwaník they kill

+15 -ik. Intensive Pluralizer of Subject
Any (T or I) ('many")

?ibátikík they (many) went

lasmílikík they (many) killed him

TABLE 3

VERBAL PREFIXES

	-9	-8	-7 -6 -5 -4	-3	-2	-1	Root (stem)
(T)		(1a)				1 h (k) - 2 a (w) - 3 s, š (y) -	
both	ta-		Pre-verbal Particles	š-	1 i- 2 a- 3 ø-		
(I)				n- n- ø-	1 i- 2 a- 3 i-		

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-1 h-(k); ?a-(w); s-, š-(y)

1st, 2nd, 3rd person singular subject prefixes. Any (T) (see Chapter III for explanation).

h-(k); 1st Person

tahmíl	I kill it	
hmíl	I kill it (no ta-)[1]	
ckíl	I see it	(?íl - to see (T))
škíl	I see it	

?a-(w); 2nd Person

tamíl	you (sg.) kill it
šamíl	you kill it
tawíl	you (sg.) see it
šawíl	you see it

s, š-(y); 3rd Person

lasmíl	he killed it
šmíl	he kills it
layíl	he saw it
š(y)íl	he sees it

-2, -3 (Occur Together in All Combinations of š-, and n- plus i-, a, -Ø)

Some of these forms undergo morphophonemic changes. They will only show up, if at all, under some few, rather special circumstances; for explanations of these changes, see Chapter III. The non-occurring projected forms, below, will be marked by an asterisk, with the actually occurring forms following in parentheses.

---

[1]The alternate set, without ta-, shows the presence of š in (T) forms √?V-.

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š- set (with (T) not of form √?V)
Singular Personal Object Prefixes
(Only with 3rd Person Subject Prefix)

šši- (š- and i-) 1st Person Singular Object

taššimíl (un) he kills me (the -un occurs occasionally)

taššismílukútik he kills us

ša- (š- and a-) 2nd Person Singular Object

*taššasmíl(ot) (tamíl(ot) he kills you (sg.)

taššáššamíl he is killing you, now

š- (š- and ø-) 3rd Person Singular Object

*taššamíl (tasmíl or ímíl) he kills him (other person)

šš- set (with (T) of the form √?V)
The šš is generally Present in Forms
of this Type

š(k-)	1st person sing. subject	škílša	I see now.
š(aw-)	2nd person sing. subject	šawílša	You see now.
š(y-)	3rd person sing. subject	*šyílša (šílša)	He sees now.

šš- set (with (I)) Singular Person
Subject Prefixes

šši- (š- and i-) 1st Person Singular Subject

taššíbat I am going

taššitálukútik we are coming (tál - to come (I))

ša- (š- and a-) 2nd Person Singular Subject

*taššabát (tabát) you (sg.) are going

*taššatálik (tatálik) you (pl.) are coming

š- (š- and ø-) 3rd Person Singular Subject

*taššbát (cbat) he goes

*taštál (c tál) he comes

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n- set (with (I)) Singular Person Subject Prefixes, Past, Completive

In the 3rd person, the expected n- is replaced by ?i, which varies with zero. Each form occurs about half of the time in speech and in texts. This is also true when the plural 3rd person suffix -ik, is added.

ni- (n- and i-) 1st Person Singular Subject (Past)

nimílwan	I killed
nibát	I went

na- (n- and a-) 2nd Person Singular Subject (Past)

namílwan	you (sg.) killed
nabatík	you (pl.) went

?i - or Nothing. 3rd Person Singular Subject (Past)

?ibát	_bát	he went	
?i?óc or	_?óc	he entered	(?óc - to enter (I))

-9 (-8) ta-, la- (See Chapter VI)

ta-; Present-Time Specifier (Incompletive)

Any verb (T or I)--specific present, right now; in contrast with "general present," now, these days (without ta).

tahmíl	I kill it
taššíbat	I go

la-; Past-Time, Completive. Any (T)

lahmíl	I killed it
lasmílbeík	they killed him

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Noun Inflection

TABLE 4

NOUN INFLECTION

	-1	Root (Stem)	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Non-poss.		Root (Stem)	-il -al			-etik	-etik
Poss.	1) h (k) -	"	-el	-Vb	-tak	-tik -tutik	-tak -etik
	2) ?a (w) -	"	"	"	"	-ik	-tak -etik
	3) s, š (y) -	"	"	"	"	-ik	-tak -etik

Plural Noun (non-possessed) adds -etik to the stem (+4).

té?	té?etík	tree, trees
ć'í?	ć'í?etík	dog, dogs
k'íb	k'íbetík	pitcher, pitchers

At least one form adds -atik, and -utik to form the non-possessed plural (+4).

?ánć	?ánćatík	woman, women
kérem	kéremútik	young man, young men

-il, -al

Some nouns are apparently felt to be inherently possessed by the Tzotziles; things which are part of the body and possessions which everyone has as a (Tzotzil) human being. In order to state a general plural (non-possessed), the suffixes -il, -al (+1) are added before the -etik. These are dropped usually, when the forms are possessed.

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-il

The root or stem is sometimes, but not always given with the -il added.

All Body Parts (Always Have the -il when Plural)

c'út	(...-il)	c'útilétik	abdomen(s)	(hcút - my ...)
k'ób	(...-il)	k'óbilétik	hand(s)	(hk'ób - my ...)
sekúb	(...-il)	sékubíletík	liver(s)	(hsekúb - my ...)

Other Inherently Possessed Things

tóhol (íl)	tóholíletík	salary(ies)	(htóhol - my ...)
kúšob?ó?n (il)	kúšob?o?nilétik	paraje(s)	(hkúšobkó?n - my ...)
k'éš (il)	k'éšilétik	debt(s)	(hk'éš - my ...)

-al

Usually given with the -al in non-possessed form, otherwise the same as -il.

Permanent Kinship Terms (i.e., not acquired in marriage, e.g. bólilétik - brother-in-law)

?išlél (al)	?íšlelálетík	younger brother(s) - said by women	(kišlél - my ...)
?ahníl (al)	?áhnilálетík	wife (wives)	(kahníl - my ...)
?íɬ'in (al)	?íɬ'inálетík	younger brother(s) - said by men	(kíɬin - my ...)

Some Personal or Household Possessions

píšalál	píšaláletík	hat(s)	(hpišól - my ...)
?ócebál	?ócebáletík	entrance(s)	(kóceb - my ...)
kúhlebál	kúhlebáletík	chair(s)	(hkúhleb - my ...)

Possessed Nouns

Possession - Singular Noun

Noun not of the Form $\sqrt{?V}$

A set of personal possessive prefixes for singular number (-1), and of suffixes for plural number (+4).

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	-1	+4
1st person	h-	-tik (-tútik--exclusive 1st person plural)
2nd person	?a-	-ik
3rd person	s-(š-)	-ik

Noun of the Form $\sqrt{?V}$

The plurals remain the same, but the singular possessive prefixes drop, and there is a set of replacements for the ?- (except in the 2nd person ?a-).

The singular possessive prefixes are:

1st person	k-	?áƛ'am	káƛ'am	my salt
2nd person	(?a)w-		?awáƛ'am	your (sg.) salt
3rd person	y-		yáƛ'am	his salt

-el (+1)

There are a set of nouns which add -el when possessed (anatomical parts of body).

c'ic'	hc'ic'él	blood, my blood
núkul	?anúkulél	skin, your (sg.) skin
bák	sbákel	bone, his bone

Possession - Plural Noun

A possessed noun may be pluralized by the addition of further suffixes. The possessive prefixes and suffixes remain the same in all cases.

-tak (+3)--Simple Plural (poss. nouns)

The addition of this suffix pluralizes the noun to about the same extent as the -etik for non-possessed plural forms--more than one, but not many.

ht'últak(tík)	my (our) rabbits
st'últak(ík)	his (their) rabbits

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-tak (-5)

May be added to possessed plural nouns: many.

ht'últak(tík)tak my (our) many rabbits

-etik (+5)

Apparently may be added to any form above (except in the presence of the second tak, +5); indicates that there are many, many--more than one would expect.

ht'últaktíketík our many, many rabbits

-Vb (+2)

This always occurs in combination with -tak (+3); is usual with some kinship terms to express plural. But it can apparently occur with any form, indicating a relatively permanent relationship, attached to the thing or person.

Kinship Terms

múk	hmúkobták	my younger sisters (said by females)
?íɬ'in(al)	kíɬ'inábtak	my younger brothers (said by males)

Other Terms

t'úl	ht'úlubták	my rabbits which are always mine
?ánɬ	kánɬobták	my lovers who are generally mine

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CHAPTER V

DERIVATION

Verb Derivation

This description is based on a general verb derivation frame for both Tzeltal and Tzotzil.[1] The forms which occur in San Bartolo Tzotzil will be illustrated with examples.

There are two derivational positions following the stem. In the first are included all of the forms listed below in order. In the second position are three possible forms, two of which are in complementary distribution. These are -tés/-es, which are transitivizing forms and can be added to some, but not all derived (or non-derived) intransitive verb stems. The other form is also transitivizing, -ta, which is a causative suffix.

The maximum derivation picture is

Root/Stem - Derivation 1 - -tés/es 2
-ta 2

The third and fourth positions after the stem contain suffixes which seem to have no special limits on their addition, except their limitation to transitive or intransitive stems, and will be included under the general description of the verb.

Related T and I Stems

These forms are derivable from (N, T, I),and have the two corresponding transitive and intransitive forms. (-- stem) None of these have a second position -tés/-es or -ta (except ɬah).

[1]Suggested by Terrence Kaufman, 1961.

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Stem Formatives

Transitive	Intransitive
--p'Vn	--p'Vh
--ɬ'Vn	--ɬ'Vh
--c'Vn	--c'Vh
--k'Vn	--k'Vh
--ɬan	--ɬah

--p'Vn : --p'Vh (T and I)

pítp'un (T) - to jump it (refers to animals only)

pítp'uh (I) - to jump

tílp'un (T) - to untie it

tílp'uh (I) - to untie

--ɬ'Vn : --ɬ'Vh

bílɬ'un (T) - to slide it (as in mud)

bílɬ'uh (I) - to slide (as in mud)

múkɬ'an (T) - to submerge it in water

múkɬ'ah (I) - to submerge

--c'Vn : --c'Vh

bálc'un (T) - to roll it (a heavy object)

bálc'uh (I) - to roll oneself

tílc'un (T) - to slide it (on a dry sloping surface)

tílc'uh (I) - to slide (on a dry sloping surface)

--k'Vn : --k'Vh

wálk'un (T) - to push him

wálk'uh (I) - to push

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bútk'in (T) - to push it down with the hands (as a tree)

bútk'ih (I) - to push down

--ɬan : --ɬah

mélɬan (T) - to repair it, to finish it

mélɬah (I) - to repair, to finish

tíhɬan (T) - to make it come closer

tíhɬah (I) - to come closer

also

tíhɬahes (T) - to make it come closer

--Vn (T) : --Vh (I) Sets of Forms from (T,I,N)

húla?án (T) - húla?áh (I) - to visit (fr. húla?al -(N)- a visit)

málalín (T) - málalíh (I) - to marry (fr. málal - husband - said by women)

?áhnilán (T) - ?áhniláh (I) - to marry (?áhnil - wife - said by men)

-ba - (I) from (T)

tóyba - (-tés) - to make (him) miserable (tóy - (T) - to be poor, miserable)

nak'bá - to hide oneself (nák' - (T) - to hide it)

?utbá - to argue with oneself (?út - (T) - to argue with him)

-(o)mah (I) from (T)

p'ólmah - to sell (p'ól [T or I] - to produce many things)

cúk'omáh - to wash clothes (cúk - to wash clothes) (T)

ɬákomáh - to hunt with dogs (ɬák - to grab, take) (T)

-Vn : -Vwah Pairs of (T) and (I) from (N,T)

?eán - ?éawáh - to move many things (?e*)

?ánɬin - ?ánɬiwáh - to look for a lover (?ánɬ - woman (N))

-- - náuwáh - to sew (náu - (T) - to sew)

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-olVh : -olVn - (I) From (T)

In this dialect, this is a fourth position (post-stem) suffix. There are actually two of these, one which goes with any transitive verb, the others with intransitive verbs. The affix indicates habitual or "plural" action.

The shapes of these are:

-(V)lah - (I from I) - the (V) occurs with monosyllabic stems only.

-(V)lan - (T from T) - the (V) occurs with monosyllabic stems only.

-Vb - (I) From (N,T,A) Also with (-tés)

ʔúmaʔíb - to be mute, crazy (ʔúma - (N) - a mute, crazy person)

ɬáɬnub - to be very strong (ɬoɬ - (A) - strong)

cánub - to teach (cán - (T) - to learn)

-i - (I) From (T)

ɬ'áki - to be ready (ɬ'ák - (T) - to join two things together)

hówi - to be "in love," crazy (*how)

-in - (I) From (N,T), (I)

tónin - to lay eggs (tón - (N) - rock, stone)

cík'in (-tés, -tá) - to sweat (cík - (N) - sweat)

tóhobín (-tés) - to make a short-cut path (tóhob - (I) - to correct, straighten out)

-aw (I) From (N)

k'éšaw - to have shame (k'éš - (N) - a debt)

háʔaw - to carry water (hóʔ - (N) - water)

hátaw - to flee (*hat)

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-im or -in (I) From ?

?átin (-tés) - to bathe (?átimól - (N) - bath)

tahín (-tés) - to play (táhimól - (N) - a game)

-C$_1$unah - (I) from (T,N,A)

cólcunáh - to walk on a straight object (as a wall) - (cól - (T) - place things in a line)

núhnunáh - to nod rapidly with head bent (núhul - (A) - to sit up with head bent)

péhpunáh - to be lame (*peh)

-anih - (I) From (N) (some excretory functions of body)

túbaníh - to spit (túb - (N) - saliva

s ímaníh - to blow one's nose (sím - (N) - nasal mucous)

?óbaníh - to cough (?ób - (N) - a cough)

-em - (I) From (T), (I) (Usually used adjectivally--in nominal phrases)

tá?ahém - to be cooking (tá?ah - (T) - to heat up)

c'iém - to be growing (c'í - (I) - to grow up)

-ilan - (T) from (T)

pócilán - to "flick" with finger a dry leaf or piece of paper (and make noise - póc - to hit - (T))

ɬ'ó?ilán - to rock to and fro while sitting (*ɬ'ó'?)

ɬílilán - to "wiggle" one leg, rapidly, up and down (*ɬíl)

-lV - T From - (T),(A),(I)

ná?li - to ridicule (ná? - (T) - to know it)

ló?lo - to argue (ló? - to eat fruit) - (I)

ɬ'ákli - to follow someone (ɬ'ákal - (A) - behind)

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-u - (T) from (N)

náu - to sew (nó - (N) - thread)

c'áhnu - to make it of rope (c'óhon - (N) - rope)

háwu - to measure with arm-spread (hów - (N) - an arm-spread)

- (i) nah (I) from (a)

k'íšnah (k'íšináh) - to heat (-es) - (k'íšin - (A) - hot)

-V or -Vh (T,I pairs) from ?

capá - capáh - to ready (it)

ɬ'ibá - ɬ'ibáh - to write (it)

-C1V1n (T) from (A,N)

kakán - to block up (kakál - (A) - blocked up)

cicín - to strain, filter (cícináb' - (N) - filter)

ɬ'úɬ'un - to suck foods (*ɬ'úɬ')

-etah (I from ?)

wáwetáh - to yell (*waw)

wápetáh - to walk pregnantly (*wap)

wówetáh - to argue strongly (*wow)

-et - from (A) (Usually occurs adjectivally--participally in nominal phrases)

k'ak'ét - to be burned (k'ók' - (A) - hot)

Noun Derivation[1]

With Verbal Linkage

(I)	Noun	N-agentive	
-wan	-waneh	h-...-eh	
pímubtéswan	pímubtéswaneh	hpímubtéswaneh	to thicken, thickener

[1]Examples not defined can be determined from given meanings.

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(I)	Noun	N-agentive	
túswan	túswanéh	htúswanéh	to arrange, arranger
?ílwan	?ílwanéh	h?ílwanéh	to watch, curer
-Vh	-el	h-...-el	
ɬ'ibáh	ɬ'ibáhel	hɬ'ibáhel	to write, writing, writer
sobáh	sobáhel	hsobáhel	to do rapidly, expert
k'ópoh	k'ópohél	hk'ópohél	to speak, declaration, speaker
-(V)bah	-el	h-...-el	
nímkabáh	nímkabábel	hnímkabáhel	be drowsy, drowsiness
cónbah	cónbahél	hcónbahél	to sell, seller
ló?bah	ló?bahél	- - - -	to eat fruit, fruit, --
-olah	-el	h-...-el	
mánoláh	mánoláhel	hmánoláhel	to buy, buyer
cónoláh	cónoláhel	hcónoláhel	to sell, sale, seller
kotólah	kótoláhel	hkótoláhel	to walk on all fours, etc.
-omah	-el	h-...-el	
ɬ'ísomáh	ɬ'ísomáhel	hɬ'ísomáhel	to sew seams on pants, tailor
cuk'ómah	cúk'omáhel	hcúk'omáhel	to wash clothes, laundress
ɬakómah	ɬákomáhel	hɬákomáhel	to hunt with dogs, hunter and dogs
-Vwah	-el	h-...-el	
?ánɬiwáh	?ánɬiwáhel	h?ánɬiwáhel	to have lover, man with lover
?eáwah	?éawáhel	h?éawáhel	to move things, mover
múliwáh	múliwáhel	hmúliwáhel	to have guilt, guilt
-Vweh	-el	h-...VwVl	
k'ák'awéh	k'ák'awéh	hk'ak'áwel	to burn milpa, burner

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-in	--	h-...-om	
k'éohín	k'éoh	hk'éohínom	to sing, song, singer
?ílin	(-* ?iloh)	h?ílom	to be angry, anger

-in	-ímol	h-...imol	
?atín	?átimól	h?átimól	to bathe, bath, bather
takín	tahímol	htahímol	to play, game, player

-Vh	-Vl	h-...Vl	
?abtéh	?abtél	h?abtél	to work, work, worker
pašyáh	pašyál	hpášyarol	to walk, a walk, walker
wí?nah	wí?nal	hwí?nal	be hungry, hunger, hungry person

(T)-Ø	(T) & -eh & (N) obj.	h-...-T & -eh & N (obj.)	
cá?bi	cá?biéh wákaš	hcá?biéh wákaš	to watch cows, vaquero (cowboy)
túk'es	tůk'eséh ?ólol	htúk'eséh ?ólol	to untie - a child
wilés	wíleséh baríl	hwíleséh baríl	to fly - a kite

(T)	(T) & N (obj.)	h-...-T & N (obj.)	
k'él	k'el wákaš	hk'el wákaš	to watch, bullfight, watcher of bullfight
cán	can hún	hcan hún	to learn, school, student

(A)	-emal	h-...em	
k'ók'	k'ák'emál	hk'ak'ém	hot, burn, burned person

(T)	-bol	
ló?	ló?bol	to eat fruit, banana

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(T - possessed)	s-...leh
lóm - to lower	slómleh - lower land
kuš - rest, revive	škušléh - testicle

(I)	-eb
wáy - to sleep	hwayéb - bed
wé? - to eat	wé?eb - dining room
?óc - to enter	?océb - entrance

(T)	(h)...Vb
hác' - to fall	hac'úb - a comb
cú?un - to suckle	hcú?unób - nursing child

(T)	-obil & (N)
lóɬ' - to grasp between 2nd and 3rd fingers	lóɬ'obíl hún - paper clip
pás - to do, make	spásobíl relóho - watch

(T)	(-h)...V́l (high tone on 2nd syllable - reflex of internal -H in Tzeltal)
?ík' - to invite	?ik'ál - thief
tén - to hunt	tenál - barn, storehouse
?át - to count	?atól - a counting (as of money)

(T)	Vl
toh - to pay	tóhol - wages, salary

(I)	-el
?óc - to enter	?océl - entrance
yúl - to arrive	yúlel - arrival

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(T)	-báil (pl. $C_1VC_2C_1V_2Cetik$)
?út - argue	?utbáil - argument among several persons
míl - to kill	milbáil - murder
núɬ - to kick out	nuɬbáil - removal

Not Verbally Linked

(N)	-lVl
wínik - man	wínkilél - body, owner
k'éš - debt	k'ešlál - shame

(N)	-il or -el
lú? - vagina	lú?il - testicle
mé? - mother	mé?el - old lady (non-complementary)
té? - tree	té?el - erect penis

(I)	-el
wé? - to eat	wé?el - dinner

(N)	-altik "place where they grow...many of"
ló?bol - banana	ló?boláltik - place of bananas
cének' - bean	cének'áltik - place of beans
nícim - flower	nícimáltik - place of flowers

(N)	-$C_1VC_2C_1VC_2$áltik "place where grow or are many of ..."
cób - milpa	cóbcobáltik - milperia
c'úm - squash	c'úmc'umáltik - place of squashes

(N)	-$C_1VC_2C_1VC_2$tik "place where there are many of..."
ná - house	nanátik - place of houses
bé - path, street	bebétik - place of streets

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(N)	-tik "place where there are many..."
?úc' - louse	?úc'tik - Candelaria (place of lice)
múy - chico zapote	múytik - place of chico zapote (a fruit)
tón - rock, stone	tóntik - place of rocks ("pedregal")

(I, A, T)	-Vhem agentive
cóp - to make it lazy (T)	cópahém - lazy person
ɬóɬ - strong (A)	ɬáɬahém - strong person
?ábteh - to work (I)	?ábtehém - "work-a-day" person

(N)	-be "the act of gathering..."
sí? - firewood	sí?be - act of gathering firewood
hó? - water	há?be - act of gathering water

(A)	-ubel
mol - old	málubél - old age

Adjective Derivation

From (T)

Numeral Classifiers - (h-)...-ahtik

pét (T) - to lift in arms

hpét (ahtík) - one: like pole, tree, pencil, cigarette, etc.

-ahtik (pl.)

-ah (if not present numeral classifier identical to pl. poss. noun)

-tik - 1 pl. subj., obj.

lík (T) - to put into rebozo

hlík (ahtík) - one: thing of cloth; shirt, jacket, etc.

-bíl - occurs before nouns in nominal phrases

cúk' (T) - to wash it	cuk'bíl (A) - washed
c'ítes (T) - to grow it	c'ítesbíl (A) - grown

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From (I) -em, -et - occur before nouns in nominal phrases

c'í (I) - to grow	c'íem - grown
cúklih (I) - to dent	cúklihét - dented

From (N) (only one example)

-$C_1V_1C_2$tik

ból (N) - brother-in-law	bólboltík (sba) - mute, crazy

From (A)

Cardinal Numbers - s-(š-, y-).....-al

cíb - 2	šcíbal - 2nd
?ošíb - 3	yóšibál - 3rd

š-...et Olfactory (?) (only examples)

mú - delicious	smúet - odorous
*la	šláet - sweet, fragrant smelling

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CHAPTER VI

THE VERB AND VERBAL COMPLEX

Verbal Complex

This term, verbal complex, refers to the inflected verb root or stem, plus all of the particles which may occur with it, in addition to the derivative and inflective affixes. Some of these particles occur pre-verbally, others post-verbally, a few in either or both positions. It is noted below that some "adverbs" are arranged to the verbal complex, as a unit, not acting like these particles.

In Chapter II, it is noted that many of the Tzotzil particles are essentially ubiquitous. They occur not only with verbs, but some of the same (or homophonous) particles occur with adjectives and other particles. The relationship to the verb of those which occur with verbal stems is discussed in this chapter, because they have a definite order with respect to the verb stem. Further statements concerning these particles and their meanings are discussed in Chapter VII. Those particles occurring only with verbs are so designated.

Post-verbal Particles

The post-verbal positions up to and including +15 were listed under Verb Derivation (+1, +2) Chapter V, and under Verb Inflection (+3 to +15), Table 2. There are more fixed post-verbal positions which are filled by particles. Starting with the diagram already given, the post-verbal scheme may be completed. This includes only the possibilities of a single stem,

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and excludes any combination of verbs or verbal auxiliaries to form compound verbs or verb phrases (Chapter VII).

TABLE 5

POST-VERBAL PARTICLES

Root (stem)	+1 ... +15	+16	+17	+18	+19	+20
	derivation	-wan	-to	-no	-?o	-e
	inflection	-la	-šˇa	?oš	-?obi	-?é

+16 Dubitatives (only with verbs)

-wan; Dubitative Particle.--Seems to connote doubt concerning action, not about subject.

šmílwaníkwan	It may be that they kill.
tašimílikúnwan	Maybe they are going to kill me.

-la; Dubitative Particle.--Seems to cast doubt on subject, or object; not on action.

cbatíkla	Maybe they'll go
meškák'tikláe	If we (husband and wife) give her to him (in context, speaker was said to be sure, but he was not sure about what his wife felt).

+17 -to, -šˇa

The particles which fill this slot seem to have the property of temporality in the sense of continuity-duration vs. discontinuity of the action.

-to; Continutive Particle.--Indicates that the action was felt to have relatively long duration, with respect to the time of the interaction or some other specified time.

šˇi?ábtehtóe	I still worked (as I did before)
	?ábteh (I) - to work

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ɬk'ánto — It still wants (here: lacks time before "it" is ready)

k'án (T) - to want it

-šᵡa; Temporal Immediacy Particle (indicates that the action is just completed or just to begin)

šibátšᵡa — I'm going this minute.

bahmílšᵡa — I'm going to kill him right now.

lahmílšᵡa — I just killed him.

+18 -no, -?oš

These particles, as opposed to those in +17, seem to presume a history or duration as given; then to state discontinuity or duration. These are different from those in +17, which express, in a sense, the fact of duration; or not. Members of the sub-classes in +17 and +18 do occur together in order. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish temporality from spacial references in terms of these particles, if indeed, they are different.

-no; Temporal (or Spacial) Limiting Particle (indicates that action is limited, more than is usual

táno šyúliknó li?k'ál — yúl (I) - to arrive (here)

li?k'ál (P) - up to here

They only get to here (instead of some place further, with a point of reference which is not here).

-?oš (only with verbs); Temporal Finality Particle

This indicates that the section has just been completed, but contains the implication that the action had been discussed or going on sometime in the past; similar to the connotation of English, "finally."

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lahmílot?óš — Now I've killed you (after having thought about it for some time).

lahmílotšá?oš — Now I've just killed you (after thinking about it).

+19 -?o, -obi

These two particles seem to be concerned with events which are not in the present "seeable" context--temporal and/or spacial.

-?o; General Completive Particle

This indicates that the action took place in the past. Whether it was the general or customary situation, or occurred but once is a function of the presence or absence of the pre-verbal particle, ta-. The -?o further indicates that the action took place before the time indicated by any pre-verbal temporal particle which may also occur. If the particle to- occurs pre-verbally, this particle often occurs post-verbally.

lašcónik?o — cón (T) - to sell it

They had sold him long ago (before the action being described).

ɬpás?o (taspás?o) — I was making it (at that moment).

spás?o — I made it then ("my" vocation--implies that this is not true now, in these days)

bá?oští?ot?o — tí? (T) - to eat it

I'm going to have eaten you, finally. (After some intervening sequence of events has occurred, and "I've" eaten you, then the speaker will be doing something else.)

tátošitál?o — (The ?o must occur with the particle to-.)

I am still coming (back). (I will still have returned within an agreed-upon unit of time as "today"; i.e., I'll be back today.)

-obi; Spacial Non-present Particle

The action is not "here," but "there" in the sense that the interactor cannot see it.

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láhmilšáobí	I just killed him - there.
níbat?óšobí	I finally left from there.

+20 -?ó, - e

(-?ó occurs only with verbs; -e probably occurs in +21, although these two particles have not been noted to occur together.) Both of these particles seem to be arranged to, rather than being part of, the verbal complex.

-?ó; Subject or Action, "Also" Particle

This seems to indicate that the subject is also going to do something which someone else also is doing, or that the action is somehow repeated with respect to someone else also having done it.

nibát?ó	I also went.
babátukún?ó	I'm also going to go.

-e; Phrase Marker (or Termination) Particle

This particle seems to separate the entire verbal complex from other parts of the sentence, as some kind of unit. It seems to carry no information or meaning as the other particles do, but it merely is some kind of order statement. The complete distribution of the -e is not yet known. It always occurs if the verbal complex is preceded by te- and te?-, at least.

ši?ábtehtóe ...	When I still worked, ...
... te ?ák'o hmíloté ...	that I kill you.

Pre-Verbal Particles

The pre-verbal positions from -1 to -3, and -9, have been discussed earlier (see Table 3), Chapter IV.

There is some doubt as to the exact placement of several of the particles. For some, there are no examples which confirm positional place-

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ments, except to note that they are after one particle and before another which may be far from continuous. It is therefore possible that there are more, or less, particle positions, and more particles. The attempt has been made to use diagnostic examples whenever possible.

TABLE 6

PRE-VERBAL PARTICLES

-12	-11	-10	-9	-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3 to -1	Root
wan-	k'al-	ca?-	ta-	la-	šwa-	ba-	?oš-	ša-	Inflection	(stem)
					wan-		to-	wan-		
							no-			

-22	-21	-20	-19	-18	-17	-16	-15	-14	-13
te-	ha?-	te?-	me-	mu(k')-	me-	k'u-	bák'in-	yépal-	ša?n-
		le?					muc'ú-	?óra-	
							bu-	etc.	
							etc.		

-4 ša-, wan-

ša-; Temporal Immediacy Particle

bášamíl	He's going to kill him, right now.
tawánšabahmíl	Maybe I'm going to kill him, right now.

wan-; Dubitative Particle

tašawánbahmíl	Maybe, I'm going to kill him now.
tawánšitál	Maybe I'm going to come

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-5 ?oš-, to-, no-

?oš-; Temporal Finality Paricle (see +18)

ta?ošwanbahmíl	Maybe I'm finally going to kill him (I've been thinking about it for a long time).
bá?ošcámukutik	We're finally going to die (having been threatened).
	cám (I) - to die

to-; Continutive Particle (see +17)

mútoškúši?o	He still couldn't live.	kuš (T, I) - to live
bátokí?tal	I'm still going to carry it there.	?í? (T) - to carry it

no-; Temporal (or Spacial) Limiting Particle (see +18)

tánošahówil	You're just arguing. (To argue; i.e., there is no point to the argument.)	
	hówil (T) - to argue	

-6 ba-; Temporal Futurity (with (I) very often indicates some doubt; if so, -uk occurs after verb stem)

babátukún	I'm going to go.
bášasmíl	He's going to kill me, soon.

-7 ša-, wan-

(As -4, above) Probably, the ša-, wan- (and ?oš-) particles may occupy two or three positions, relative to one another. As far as has been determined, the effect of these particles does not change with change in position. It is quite difficult to contrast the contexts in which these particles occur in different relative orders, so it may well be that their meaning varies as a function of position.

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šа-; Temporal Immediacy (see +17)

tášawánbahmíl	Maybe I'm going to kill him now.
taššá?ošamíl	Now, finally, I'm killing it.

wan-; Dubitative (see +16)

tawánšabahmíl	Maybe I'm going to kill him now (contrast above).

-8 la-; Completive Prefix (with (T) verbs; see Chapter IV)

Only one example of the particles ta- and la-, occurring in order appears in the corpus. Although its meaning is unclear, it does indicate that these two particles do not share the same positional slot. It is possible that there are two homonymous particles of the form, la-, in which case one might share the ta- slot.

tálabasmílelík	They're going to kill him.

-9 ta- (see Verb Inflection, Chapter IV)

-10 ca?; Commentative Particle ("well," "then")

With k'u, part of question "Why?"

Commentative

A statement which concerns the interaction rather than any reference:

bu k'ál ca? tabát?	Well, where are you going?	bu k'ál (P)--up to where

With k'u ("Why?")

k'ú wan cá? tabát ?	Why might you be going?	k'u cá?--why wan- (P)--"honorific"

-11 k'al; Spacial or Temporal "Extension" Particle

This seems to indicate that the action is further away from the point of reference, in space or time, than would otherwise have been thought or

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assumed by the interactors. If it refers to temporal aspects, it is always futurative. It occurs only following bu- ("where") in questions, but occurs in temporal phrases in sentences.

bu k'ál tabát ? Up to where are you going?

k'ál ta semána In 3 or 4 weeks (temporal nominal phrase)

-12 wan-; Honorific Particle

This particle occurs in questions directed toward (or about) some person of greater age or higher rank. It seems to imply some doubt (see -4, -7), but the doubt, in this case, is more like a person in a lower social position not being able to presume that he could have knowledge about what his elders are doing.

k'ú wan tapás, táta? ? k'ú tapás? - What are you doing?

What might you be doing, sir? (even though the speaker can see what the other person is doing). taća? (N) - sir

bú wan tabát ?

Where might you be going? (to an older, respected person).

-13 ša?n-; Honorific Particle

Similar to wan- (-12) but used to and among very old people, and those of very high status.

bu šá?n wan k'ál tabát ? Where might you be going?

-14 yépal-, ?óra- etc.; Nominatives

There are several forms which fit in this position. They combine with the question particles to form distinct question word units.

k'u yépal tatál ? k'u (P) - what

How much are you bringing? ?épal (A) - much

tál (I) - to come

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k'u ?óra tatál? — ?óra (N) - hour, time

When (what hour) are you coming?

-15 bu-, bák'in-, etc.; Question Particles

These particles introduce questions and some subordinate clauses.

bú tabát ? — Where are you going?

tabát, bú tašíbat. — You're going where I'm going.

bák'in tabát ? — When are you going?

-16 k'u-; Question Particle (as -15)

Generally means, "what," if alone but has many meanings in combination with other particles.

k'ú tapás ? — What are you doing?

k'ú bu ?óy ? — Where might it be?

k'u yépal tatál ? — How much are you bringing?

k'u ?óra tabát ? — When are you going? (What hour?)

-17 me- ? ?

Only one example occurred in the corpus (may fit in another position).

mumek'án — I don't want to ... — mu (P) - negative; hk'án (T) - I want to

-18 mu(k'); Negative Particle

memúk'lawá?i — If I didn't hear it ... — ?á?i (T) - to feel, hear, sense

tememúšawák'ik ?éntrekále — ?ák' ?éntrekál (T) - to return it

if you (pl.) don't return it ...

-19 me-; Conditional Particle - "if"

tememúšawák'ik ?éntrekále — if you (pl.) don't return it (see -18)

tém(e)tak'án — if you don't want it

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-20 le?-, te?-; Stative Particles

(Concerning action, or being)

le?-

Implies that the place of the action is in the present context of the speakers.

ha? lé?oyík — They are here. — ?oy (S) - to be

te?-

Implies that the place of the action is not in the present context of the speakers.

té? ctál ta cóbtiké — He is (now) coming to the milpa (from) a place which is not here; and the speakers are not presently in the milpa. If the te?- were not present, it would be assumed that "we" are in the milpa, and the third person is coming here. In the present example, the speakers plan to be in the milpa when the third person arrives or while he is still there.

-21 ha?- Stative Particle

(Concerns a previous reference to the person(s) or action.)

ha? té? likém sk'áhik — likém (I) - have begun

sk'áhik (T) - they are harvesting it.
They have begun to harvest (there).

há? bahtí?ot — bahtí?ot (T) - I will eat you
(It is that) I'm going to eat you.

-22 te-; Certainty Particle

Seems to connote the assurance that all things are "favorable" and that the act is certain to occur. The placement of this particle is questionable. It has not been noted to occur preceding ha?-. It does seem to bound a verbal phrase in a different way from ha?-. In the situations in which it follows ha?-, the boundaries of the phrase may include much more than just the verbal complex:

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há?to te bák'in ?éc' c'ul hesús ta c'ul bálumíle ...

(It is) when Holy Jesus passed to earth ...

bák'in (P) - when

?éc' (I) - pass-by

c'ul hesús - Holy Jesus

c'ul bálumíl - holy earth

This must be investigated further, pointing as it does to longer and/or different types of phrasal units than those discussed in this study.

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CHAPTER VII

SYNTAX

The phrase and sentence levels of Tzotzil are unusual in that a large number of constructions are linguistically demarcated or bounded by the presence of the "phrase marker," -e. With reference to this phrase marker, it may be postulated that there is a normal sentence structure in Tzotzil. The normal structure is a statement concerning the ordering of certain types of phrases in the sentence; not about the statistical or usual occurrence of these structures. All other things being equal, when this order is not met, phrases transposed from the normal order must be bounded by the phrase marker, -e.

Variation in the normal sentence structure occurs as a function of the kind of verbal which occurs. It may be stated, tentatively, that normal variation occurs as a function of the different verbals, T, I, or S.

The parts of the sentence, on the phrase-syntax level are listed below. Basic to this analysis will be a consideration of two basic phrase types: nominal and verbal. Variations and additions will be considered as an adjunct to or derived from these.

The attempt will be made, in this analysis, to set up the framework for a generative grammar, to be complete in describing the structural points so that essentially all Tzotzil sentences can be constructed. Problems concerning interpretation and completeness will be pointed out.

Normal Sentence Order

The normal sentence patterns in Tzotzil are these; i.e., if this order is maintained, no phrase markers will occur:

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1. (T) - Nominal Phrase (subj.)	(T) Nominal (obj.)	Nominal[1] Locative Temporal Temporal Locative	
2. (I) - " " "	(I) - - - - -	"	"
3. (S) - " " "	(S) Nominal (subj.)[2]	"	"

The subject and object may be part of the verbal complex, thus not occurring as nominal phrases.

Illustrations corresponding to the above description are:

1. (T) - tan ʔóketík las lók'esíktál swínkiléł wíł ta bé.
Nominal (subj.) (T) verbal Nominal (obj.) Nominal (Locative)

tan ʔók -etík la- s- lók'es -ík -tál
ash-foot (N)-Pl. Past 3. take (T) Pl. coming here (I aux.)

s- wínkiléł wíł ta bé
3 Poss. owner(N) mountain(N) Prep. Location road(N)

The ash-feet took (and coming here) the owner of the mountain in the road.

A temporal nominal phrase is implied, and was either mentioned earlier in the context or is shared knowledge by the interactors.

2. (I) - hwo? wínik bat ta háʔbe ta sób
Nom. subject (I) verbal Nom. Locative Nom. Temporal

h- wo? wínik Ø bat
one: human (A) man(N) Past, 3. go (I)
numeral classifier (N.C.)

ta háʔbe ta sób
prep. fetch water (N) prep. early this morning(N)

A man went to fetch water early this morning.

3. (S) - hkot t'úl teʔ kúhul ta bé (implied Temporal)
Nom. subj. (S) verbal Nom. Locative - - - - - -

h- kot t'úl teʔ- kúhul ta bé
one: animal (N.C.) rabbit(N) Past sitting(S) prep. path(N)

A rabbit was sitting in the path.

---

[1]Where and When phrases are locative and temporal occurrences of nominal phrases.

[2]Subject may occur on either side of (S), without phrase marker.

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Nominal Phrases

Within the structure of the sentence, a nominal phrase may be in one or more of the positions of subject, object, temporal or locative clauses.

The nominal phrase, irrespective of position, is composed of one or more morpheme positions in a fixed order. If all possible structural positions within the phrase are filled (if ever, in any culturally occurring context), the parts maintain a stable order. However many of the parts occur, they do maintain a stable position relative to one another.

A noun is usually included in the sequence, but the nominal phrase may be composed only of adjectives. In some subordinate clauses, a nominal phrase may be composed of a verbal phrase introduced by a particle.

The ordinary nominal phrase, with a noun occurring, has a head noun last in the order. The head noun may be preceded by some number of other nouns and adjectives which are arranged to this noun, or which refer to it if the noun is not present. The forms which are arranged to the head noun modify, qualify or limit it in some manner.

Nominal Phrase, Head Noun Present

Nouns Only

1	2	3b	3a	3
(poss.) Noun	() Noun	() c'in	() c'ul " maš	() Head Noun

Nominal phrases containing one to three nouns were observed in the course of field work and in the texts. The possessive prefixes may be present, and may refer to the same or different persons:

1	2	3	
ta		ná	in the house
ta		hná	in my house

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1	2	3	
ta	yáwil	ká?	in the horse's place (his place; the horse)
ta	yáwil	hká?	in my horse's place (his place; my horse)
ta yáwil	swé?el	ká?	in the stable (his place; his eating; the horse)
ta yáwil	swé?el	hká?	in his stable (his place; his eating; my horse)

(ná (N) - house; ?awíl(N) - place: ká? (N) - horse; wé?el(N) - eating; h-, 1 poss.; y, s-, 3 poss.)

These all happen to be locative phrases; thus introduced by ta-. The structural points remain the same, irrespective of the type of nominal phrase.

The stems which may occur in positions 3a-b are labelled as adjectives in the sense of occurring with a modifying nouns. They are the only three adjectives which cannot occur in phrases without nouns present, and the only adjectives which may be preceded by a possessive prefix, and which may occur in these positions. All other adjectives precede the nouns. This may be restated by suggesting that these forms always occur or function as compounds, with nouns (c'ul - holy; c'in, maš - little):

c'ul mé? - hc'ul mé? Holy Virgin - my Holy Virgin

(*c'ul hmé? - cannot occur; *holy, my mother - and would be considered sacrilegious)

c'in c'úl hesús little Holy Jesus (Jesus, as a little boy)

šc'in kérem (not *c'in skérem) his little boy

Nouns and Adjectives

Adjective . . . . . Adjective // Nominal Phrase
(see below) (as above)

Adjectives preceding the noun(s) in the nominal phrase, having the following order:

1	1a	2b	2a	2	3
Enumerative		mel	mal mas	Qualitative..//..Nominal	Phrase...

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1 Enumerative-Quantitative.--Any number, ordinal or cardinal, can fit in this column, irrespective of the number of morphemes which compose it; e.g. hun (one), htób šcik' hó?ob (25). Other enumerative terms as hútuk (few) and muló?ilúk (many) also fit in this position, always preceding any member of column 2 which may occur. In Tzotzil, there is no concord between plural numbers or other enumeratives and plural noun suffixes, except negatively. Plural suffixes do not occur with the noun if an enumerative adjective occurs in the nominal phrase:

c'ahíl winíketík	lazy men	(c'ahíl (Qual.) - lazy)
cánib wínik	four man	(cánib (Enum.) - four)

1a Numeral Classifiers (N.C.).--All member of column 1 refer directly to the noun in a nominal phrase, whether or not a member of column 2 occurs. Certain sets or types of objects, are generally preceded by particular N.C.'s; e.g., the class of animals--(h)kot - (h)kot ká? (one animal: horse). The N.C.'s do have a plural form when occurring in nominal phrases not containing any nouns.

2b mel ("very").--This is the only form noted thus far which occurs in this slot. It only occurs preceding a member of class 2a. It seems to emphasize the quality of the column 2 form with which it occurs; similar to saying, "very, very ... much;"

2b	2a	2	
mél	mal	múk'	... very, very large ...

2a mas, mal (Comparative) "more," "very."--These two forms belong in this position, and others may exist. These always occur with and are related to a member of class 2. They may not directly precede a noun.

mas c'ahíl wínik	lazier man	c'ahíl (Qual. A.) - lazy
mal c'ahíl wínik	very lazy man	

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2 Qualitative.--This position consists of at least two distinct ordered classes or sub-classes. One example has been noted which suggests that there are three positions to be included here. In order to maximally generalize the model, three distinct classes will be considered:

Adjectivals derived from verbs: -bil (from T), -em, et (from I).

2a	2	2	N	
mal	?éc'em	lek/yó?n		mal(A) - very
				?éc'em (ém, A) - becomingness
				lek (Qual. A.) - good
He is very good-hearted.				yó?n (N) - his heart, soul

The derived (from a verb) adjective precedes the other.

Regular Qualitative--Color, Size and other Qualities (generally underived).--These form a distinct morphemic class in terms of the forms which may be derived from them. In nominal phrases with nouns, most of them occur with the post-fix -Vl, which they do not do in nominal phrases in which there are no nouns. They may be derived:

Adj. Root and -Vb I stem - to become ...

lek - lekúb good, to become good

Adj. Root and -Vbtés T stem - to make it become ...

lékubtés to make him (it) become good

Nominal Phrases, No Occurring Nouns

A nominal phrase may be composed of adjectives only. Such phrases, in the structure of the sentence, may occur near a noun in context, or they may occur in some larger context, referring to an understood noun or object. Such phrases occur often in Tzotzil.

This type of phrase is very similar to the ordinary nominal phrase with a head noun. The order statements concerning adjectives in nominal phrases with nouns, still operate when no nouns are present. However, no

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case has been noted in which columns 1 and 1a, the enumeratives, occur with members of column 2. In addition, the forms c'ul, c'in, maš do not occur in this type of phrase.

Thus, for nominal phrases composed only of adjectives, two separate statements may be made; a. or b., but not both:

	1	2
a. Enumerative:	Quantitative	Numeral Classifier
b. Qualitative:	mel mal	Qualitative
		1a 2a 3a

Unlike the nominal phrase with nouns, in which only the noun may take a plural suffix, members of column 2 may have the plural suffix added to them:

N.C. -ahtik-

hwó?ahtík / lik ná?liwánukík	hwó? (N.C. - one: person
Some (people) / began to ridicule.	lik(I) - began to...
Nom. phrase / Verbal Phrase	ná?liwánukík(I) - they ridicule

Qualitative Plurals.--These are the same suffixes which pluralize stative verbs.

te smé? stóte, mal ?ép póbreík	smé? stóte(N) - his mother, father
	mal ?ép (Qual. A) - very much
His parents ... very poor	póbre (A-N) - poor

The fact that the plurals for the qualitative adjectives are the same as the verbal plural suffixes points to the problem of whether these are, in fact, nominal phrases, or basically verbal ones. Either argument can be supported.

Not only do they take verbal plural suffixes, but nominal phrases composed only of adjectives also can take verbal pronominal suffixes exactly as the statives do.

In a semantic sense they refer to both the noun and verb:

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nic'í, mas múk'unšá	nic'í(I) - I grew
	mas(A) - more
I grew, now larger (I am)	múk'(Qual. A) - large
	-un - 1 (with S)
	-šá (Particle) - already, now

This actually follows a verb, referring to the verbal aspect of growth, and to a noun-object; here, to the speaker. These references must be clear in context in order for the adjective-nominal phrase to occur.

Consider this example:

....péro mas wínikúnša,	lik sá? kák	péro (Particle) - but
		mas(A) - more
Nom. Phrase	Verbal/Nom.Obj.	wínik(N) - man
		-un, -šá (as above)
Now (I am) more a man, I began to search for my girl friend.		lik(I) - began
		sá?(T) - to search for
		kák'(N) - (my) girl friend

Nouns, in this kind of phrase, seem to move over to an adjectival position, acting as if they are adjectives or stative verbs. The noun, in these cases, take verbal suffixes, and cannot take the regular noun plural, -etik. Since many stems which function like this in these type phrases are usually adjectives, it seems sensible to state that the nouns in these cases act a adjectives. They may thus be glossed as noun+like; e.g. manlike. Thus, considering that adjective phrases such as these contain or appear to refer to nouns, they are called nominal phrases. They do not, in the texts, occur in these situations unless preceded by mas or mal; usual in nominal phrases. On the other hand, the fact that they take stative affixes would indicate that they are somehow used as a verbal.

There are two adjectives which occur in different kinds of phrases with nouns as a function of the kind of noun. These are stekél and shunál, both meaning, "all of ..." They are derived from two roots meaning "one": ték (N.C. - one: thing, object, person) and the ordinal number one, hún.

If the noun is inherently a mass or collective noun, the phrases intro-

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duced by these forms are regular, as discussed earlier.

stekél kristyánu - all of the people (kristyánu (N) - people)

shunál teklúm - all of the townspeople (teklúm (N) - town, people of)

If the nouns are basically singular in meaning, the noun is separated from whichever form of the two "all's" occurs; it is preceded by te- and terminated by -e.

stekél te póbreé - all of the poor (póbre(N)(A) - poor man)

Otherwise, these forms are identical with pronouns.

Particles within Nominal Phrases

Except for the inflective suffixes, nouns do not add or combine with particles as do verbs. However, the adjectives in nominal phrases have a particular, limited set of particles which may be found with them.

The forms mas, mal may add -?ono. In these contexts, this particle seems to heighten the contrast--"very, very much (more)...":

mál?ono póbre very, very poor

más?ono póbre much, much poorer

With N.C.'s the particle -ǰa occurs. In contrast with its occurrence with verbals, here it signifies another set of the type of objects referred to:

cá? wo?ǰá another two: people wo? - N.C., person

?óǰ kotǰá another three: animals kot - N.C., animal

With quantitative and qualitative adjectives, the particles -no, -to, -ǰa occur:

-no only, just (implies an expectation of more)

húno háneká only one fanega hún(A) - one
hanéka(N) - a land measure

-to still (implies a retention of a quality longer than expected)

?ác'to still new

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-ša already, just

wínikšá already a man

múk'ša already big

Types of Nominal Phrase

There are several types of nominal phrase, separable on the basis of where they occur or what they do in the sentence: (1) major clause phrases; (2) subordinate clause phrases: (3) phrases which follow certain verbals. Within each of these clauses, there are several sub-types of clause which vary as a function of the introductory particle and of the order in which they occur within the sentence. Some of these can also be defined or contrasted in terms of the question with which they occur or to which they are the responses.

The final phrase marker, -e, indicates the terminal point of some phrases. With at least some of the introductory phrase particles, the -e always occurs. In such situation the phrase is easily isolated. In other phrases, this is not the case and reliance must be placed on morphological or distributional criteria of various types.

Nominal Subjects

Nominal subject phrases occurring in the normal order are not generally introduced by any particle. They are not terminated by any phrase marker, with one notable exception: if the speaker(s) has a particular person in mind, perhaps as opposed to some other similar-type person, the introductory particle ha?- (he, she) occurs. This refers usually to persons, but sometimes refers to animals or objects. In all cases noted, the person referred to is either present or has been spoken about earlier in the same conversation. This suggests that the particle is a substitute for the subject referred to and the following noun is in an appositive or limiting relationship to the ha?. The phrase is termined by the phrase marker, -e.

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Inverted Nominal Subject Phrases

These phrases are terminated at -e, introduced by te-. They usually follow the verbal directly in order:

las pás/te wíniké	(las)pás(T) - he did it wínik(N) - man
Verbal Nom. Subj.	

The man did it (he did it, the man).

Nominal Object Phrases

Object phrases follow (T) verb stems only. They are not introduced by the particle te-, nor terminated by -e if they follow the transitive verbal (phrase) immediately in order:

la yá?beík / hútuk takíwah	la yá?be(ik)(T) - (they) gave him hútuk(A) - few takí(l)(A) - dry wáh(N) - tortilla
Verbal Nom. Obj.	

They gave him / a few dry tortillas

There are several exceptions to this rule.

Following Imperative of (T).--The object phrase is terminated by -e, but not introduced by te-.

máko/smák náe	mák(T) - to close -o - imperative suffix of (T) (s)mák(N) - (its) door ná(N) - house

Close / the door of the house!

Auxiliary.--Following a (T) which is auxiliary to, or preceded by an (I); as part of a compound or complex verb (introduced by te-, ends with -e):

k'ót sk'óh/te pwertáe.	k'ót(I) - he arrived (s)k'óh(T) - (he) hits, knocks on pwertá(N) - door
(I) (T) / Nom. Obj.	

He arrived, knocking, on the door.

On the other hand, if a complex verb begins with a (T) and is followed by an (I) auxiliary, the object phrase is not marked:

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las tákʔél / ʔépal soltáro

(T) (I) Nom. Obj.

(las) ták (T) - he ordered it
ʔél (I Aux.) - to go there
soltáro (N) - soldier
ʔépal (A) - many

He ordered (to go) there, many soldiers.

Quotative.--Following a few verb stems which indicate that a quote will occur, or following a quote (ʔal - say, speak; ci - say):

l ayálbe / te wíniké: "....." The man said: "....."

"....." šcí / te wíniké "....." says the man.

If a temporal or locative phrase intervenes between the (T) and the object phrase, the letter is set off by te- and -e:

Temporal

las mákik / ta ʔóra / te snáiké

Verbal / Nom. Temp. / Nom. Obj.

las mákik (T) - they closed
ta ʔóra(Nom. Tem.) - right away
(s)ná(ik)(N) -(their) house

They closed / at once / their house.

Locative

ɬpás / ta sná / te méšaé

Verb / Nom. Loc. / Nom. Obj.

ɬpás (T) - he is making
ta sná (Nom. Loc.) - in his house
méša (N) - table

He is making / in his house / the table.

Locative Nominal Phrases

Locative phrases answer or are responses to the question beginning with bu- ("Where?"). Locative phrases are introduced by various particles, or may be composed only of these introductory particles (except ta-). Otherwise, the rules for the general nominal phrase hold for locative phrases, and the phrases are introduced in the following manners:

ta-.--All locative phrases, excpet those composed only of particles, are introduced by ta-.

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ta- preceded by li?-, te-, tah- (here, there, yonder; the phrase ends with -e), and by k'al in the following manner:

li?	k'al	ta	...(Nominal Phrase)	(-e)
te	"	"	"	"
tah	"	"	"	"

Examples are (tašíbat (I) - I'm going; ná (N) - house):

tašíbat		ta hná.	I'm going to my house.
"		k'ál ta hná.	I'm going to my house.
tašitál	lí?	ta hnáe	I'm coming here to my house.
"	lí?	k'ál ta hnáe.	I'm coming here to my house.
tašíbat	te	(k'ál) ta hnáe.	I'm going there to my house.
"	tah	(k'ál) ta hnáe.	I'm going yonder to my house.

(The form tál - come (I) - is used with li? in Tzotzil because one cannot "go there"; since the speakers are already here, and this would not make sense to a Tzotzil speaker.)

Post-stem Particles

The particles -no, -to may be added to any of the introductory particles li?-, te-, tah-; -to (only) may be added to k'al; ta- may not be further qualified by other particles:

-no ("only").--With locative phrases, indicates less distance than would otherwise be assumed:

lí?no ta ...	only to here	(Subject is away from here.)
téno ta ...	only to there	(Subject is not at place referred to.)

-to ("still").--With locative phrases, indicates more distance than would otherwise be assumed:

lí?to ta ...	way up to here
k'álto ta ...	way far away

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Combinations of Locative Phrases

Some number of locative phrases can occur in order: the first, or preceding being semantically smaller units or included in the ones which follow (up to two locative phrases, in order, have been noted):

ta c'iwíc ta teklúm	c'iwíc (N) - plaza teklúm (N) - town
in the plaza - in the town	

The same two phrases--in reverse order (*ta teklúm ta c'iwíc)--could not occur without a rising or falling juncture intervening. If such a major juncture does occur between the two phrases, the context is entirely different than in the example.

If the two locative phrases are not the same kind of unit sematically, each is bounded by -e:

?ibatík / ta ?atimóle	ta ?úk'umé.	?ibatík (I) - they went ta ?atimól (Loc.) - to bathe
They went / to bathe	in the river.	ta ?úk'um (Loc.) - in the river

In the earlier example the relationship between the two forms is somehow inclusive: the two are similar kinds of things to the Tzotzil speakers. In this example, the two are quite different. The form translated as the infinitive is a locative phrase in Tzotzil.

If the units connected are not all locative, but another type of nominal phrase follows a locative, the other nominal phrase is related to the locative immediately preceding in a possessive sense, and is bounded by te- and -e:

ta húla?ál / ta sná / te h?asáne	húla?ál (N) - visit (s)ná(N) - (her) house
Loc. Loc. Poss.	h?a sán(N) - Asuncion (name)
on a visit - to her house - of Asuncion.	

Temporal Phrases

Temporal phrases answer the question, bák'in (When?"). These may be introduced by a number of different particles. Some have no introductory particle.

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The greatest number are introduced by ta- (as in the case of the locative phrase). These may be subdivided into several groups:

ta- Introduces all hours, days, months ("fixed" time--by a clock or calendar).

ta bálunéb ?ora	at nine o'clock
ta lúneš	on Monday
ta ?enéro	in January

It may be of more than incidental interest that the prepositions in all of these time-unit phrases are different from each other in English.

ta-. Introduces some relative time phrases (units less than a day):

ta ?óra	right now
ta sób	early this morning

Other introductory particles (relative time concerning units of more than a single day):

yan- ("other"). Completive

yan há?bil	last year
yán šemána	2-3 weeks ago

le?- and -e ("other"--less than yan-). Completive

le? šemánaé	last week

k'ál ta- ("up to"). Futurative

k'ál ta šemána	next week

No introductory particles (relative time--less than a week)

?ok'ób	tomorrow
wólhe	yesterday
náš	earlier today

In temporal nominal phrases which contain numbers, the pronominal form, yu?(u)n ("of") connects the numbers and calendrical forms in the following manner:

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ta htób šcik' hó?ob yu?un disyémbre

htób šcik' hó?ob (A) - 25
disyémbre (N) - December

on the 25th of December

ta búlucíb ?óra yu?n sób

búlucíb (A) - 11
?óra (N) - hour, o'clock
sób (N) - morning

at 11:00 in the morning

Other Types of Temporal, Locative Phrases

These include clauses not terminated by -e, and introduced by bu, bákin, etc. ("where," "when," etc.); many of the question words. When such forms occur in the slot normally occupied by locative, temporal, and objective clauses, they act as if they are such clauses or phrases (including the forms which enter into the phrase with them):

taššíbat bú tabát

taššíbat (I) - I'm going
tabát (I) - you're (sg.) going

I'm going where you're going.

taššíbat bák'in tabát

I'm going when you're going.

tah pás k'ú ta pás.

pás (T) - make
k'u (P) - what

I'm making what you're making.

In these cases, it appears that the phrases introduced by the various particles are nominal phrases; by analogy with the more usually occurring phrases. Thus, it appears that verbals can be part of nominal phrases.

Subordinate Nominal Phrases (Clauses)

Those clauses in the sentence which occur in addition to, or arranged to the major clauses, are generally separated from other parts of the sentence by the phrase marker -e. Such clauses are introduced by question words and a number of other particles. They are often separated from the main clause by a comma juncture.

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Introductory Particles

Clauses introduced by the following particles are bounded by -e: pórke, ɬ(k)oh ("because"); péro ("but"); según ("depending on"); me ("if"); etc. (If they occur alone, with no main clause, they are not so bounded.)

These follow the main clause; if they precede it they are not bounded by -e.

múšak' tášitál, pórke mušasá? te kahníle

Main Clause / Subordinate Clause

múšak' (P) - not any more
tášitál (I) - I come
mušasá? (T) - not looking
?ahníl (N) - wife

I'm not coming any more / because I'm not looking for a wife.

Appositive Clauses

These may occur in the sentence following any nominal clause which is subjective or objective. They are usually set off by comma junctures from preceding and following clauses. Sometimes they are bounded by -e, but the rules governing this are not clear.

Following Subject

hwo? wínik, mál?ono póbre, ɬnóp k'úšci te bakúšluké.

Subj. / Appositive Clause / Main Clause

a man / very poor / is thinking how he might live (earn his living).

hwo? wínik (N) - one man
mal póbre (A) - very poor
ɬnóp (T) - to think
k'úšci (P) - how
kúšul (S) - live

Following Object

laspás méša, mal múk'

Sub.-Verb/Obj./Appositive

He made a table, very large (a very large one).

laspás (T) - he made it
méša (N) - table
mal múk' (A) - very large

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Nominalized Verbal Phrases

There are a number of nominal phrases which contain verbs and which may act as objects. These phrases are also introduced by te-, terminated by -e. The reference time is determined by the first verb in order; the second or following verbs act in reference to that time.

lasnóp te ta ?ak'úbal basmíle

Verb / Obj. Phrase

lasnóp (T) - he thought it
?ak'úbal (N) - night
basmíl (T) - he will kill him

He thought / (that) in the night he will (would) kill him.

Multiple Nominal Phrases (Subjective or Objective)

Phrases of the same type, a list of similar things or concepts, may occur in order, each separated by a comma juncture. They are things which belong to the same generic class; e.g., names of trees, things one is going to buy, etc. They may all be subjects or objects of the same verb.

Subjects

te smé?, sbánkiltáke cbátik.

Subj., Subj. / Verb

smé? (N) - his mother
sbánkilták (N) - his older brothers
cbátik (I) - they go

His mother and older brothers / they are going.

Objects

?éc' sk'ánbeél hútuk wé?el, hútuk ?úc'o.

Verbal / Obj. , Obj.

He came by to ask for / a little supper, a little to drink.

?éc' (I) - he passed by
sk'ánbeel (T) - he asks for it
hútuk (A) - a little
wé?el (N) - supper
?úc'o (N) - drink, liquid

These may also be connected by the particle i (probably from Spanish y - "and"); usually without a comma juncture. Note that each noun is terminated by -e, indicating that each is introduced by te-.

te hó?e i póme . . .

the water and honey

hó? (N) - water
póm (N) - honey

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Two nominal phrases which have some conceptual relationship to one another may be bounded by the particles te and -e--signaling their connectedness:

te réyno ta wínahéle	réyno (N) - king winahél (N) - heaven
the king of (in) heaven	

Forms Arranged to Nominal Phrases

There are number of forms which are arranged to the nominal phrase as a unit, following it in order. They seem to modify or be related to the entire phrase; rather than just with the head noun of the phrase. All of the forms noted are adjectives. Examples are:

méro yermáno sbáik	méro yermáno (Nom. Phrase) - real brothers
real brothers (between them)	sbáik (Reflexive A)
?óy ?épal cóbtik yú?un.	?óy (S) - there is ?épal cóbtik (Nom. Phrase) - much milpa
There is much milpa - of theirs.	yú?un (A - Pron.) - 3rd person
ha? hmú? hek'úk	ha? hmú? (Nom. Phrase) - it is my sister-in-law
It is my sister-in-law - also.	hek'úk (A) - also

Verbal Phrases

The structure of the Tzotzil verb and verbal complex, with respect to its derivation, inflection and conjoining particles is discussed at length in Chapters IV and VI. The verbal phrase is made up of the verbal complex plus pre- and post-verbal forms which are arranged to the verbal complex, outside of its boundaries. Some of these forms are identical to adjectives, particularly qualitative adjectives which appear in nominal phrases. These may precede or follow the verbal complex. Other forms are found only with verbs, in similar constructions, and perhaps deserve the designation of adverb.

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Pre- and Post-Verbal Adjectives

Many such forms occur immediately preceding or following the verb in order. The forms mas and mal, which precede such adjectives in nominal phrases, may also occur in constructions with verbs. But here they may occur without being followed by a qualitative adjective:

Pre-verbal

lek c?ílin. - He is very angry.

good / he is angry

lek (Qual. A) - good, well
c?ílin (I) - to be angry

Post-verbal

laspaśik lék. - They did it well.

They did it / well.

laspás sbáik.

He did it / to themselves.

They did it to themselves.

laspásik (T) - they did it

laspás (T) - he did it
sbáik (Reflexive A) - to themselves

mal (mas)

Alone

mal šawútune

very / you argue with me

You argue with me much(ly).

mal (A) - very
šawútun (T) - you argue me

Mal and Qualitative Adjective

mal hól šyá?i

very much / he likes it

He likes it very much.

hól (Qual. A) - much
šyá?i (T) - he likes it

Adverbs

There are at least a few forms which occur only with verbs, following them in order.

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lapás h?íp. You did it once. lapás (T) - you did it
h?íp (Adv.) - once

You did it / once.

Verb Compounds

There are several types of verb compounds. A verb compound is considered to be a combination of two or more morphemes which act as a single verb complex, when together in order.

Verb Stem Plus Spanish Loan

There are two verb stems in Tzotzil which are joined to make a kind of verbal compound stem which acts like a verb plus adverb. The verb roots precede the loans, and are the inflected part of the compound. The "loan" is uninflected, but may be derived to yield nouns. The loan part is kept, in Tzotzil, in the infinitive of the original Spanish form, with some changes of -r to -l:

pás (T) - to make or do

pás mólestár	to annoy or bother	(Sp. - molestar)
hpasót mólestár	I annoy you	
pás présentár	to present	(Sp. - presentar)
pás kanál	to gain, earn	(Sp.- ganar)

?ák' (T) - to give

?ák' mantál	to order, send	(Sp. - mandar)
layák' mantál	He ordered it.	
?ák' ?éntrekál	to return, hand over	(Sp. - entregar)
mebawák'ik ?éntrekále	if you (pl.) are going to hand it over ...	

Verb Compounds (Two or More Verb Roots, Stems)

Pre-verbal Auxiliary Verbs

There are a small number of verb roots which precede other verb stems or

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head verbs in a particular manner, to form verb compounds. These pre-verbal auxiliary forms are all basically intransitive, and are uninflectable. The head verb stem is inflected. With the exception of one of these (?éc'), these auxiliaries exist in pairs of essentially opposite meanings. They are:

tál- to come...to (opposite: ba)

tál kálbet	I came to tell it to you.	?ál (T) - to tell it
tálša yá?beík	They just came to give it to him	?á?be (T) - to give it

ba- to go...to

ba táluk	that he's going to come	tál (I) - to come
ba yák'	He went to give it.	?ák' (T) - to give

yúl to arrive here...to (opposite: k'ot)

yul sk'óponík	They arrived here to say it.	k'ópon (T) - to say it
yul stáike	" " " to meet him.	tá (T) - to meet it

k'ót to arrive there...to

k'ot sk'élbe	He arrived there to see him.	k'él (T) - to see it
k'ot spáselík présentár	They arrived there to be presented.	pas présentár (T) - to present it

lik to begin...to (opposite: lah)

lik ná?liwánukík	They began to make fun	ná?liwán (I) - to ridicule
lik hcán	I began to learn it.	cán (T) - to learn it

lah to finish...(to)

lah swé?ukík	They finished eating.	wé? (I) - to eat
lah šc'ámik	" " receiving it.	c'ám (T) - to receive it

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?éc' to pass-by...to

?éc' kúc'uk	I passed-by to drink.	?úc' (I) - to drink
?ec' swé?ukík	They passed-by to eat.	wé? (I) - to eat

Post-verbal Auxiliaries

There are several verbal forms which are added directly onto an inflected verb, with nothing intervening. These operate much as the pre-verbal auxiliaries. They are themselves uninflected, but since some of them are the verbal root and -el, they might be interpreted as being verbal nouns.

They occur only with (T) stems, and seem to intransitivize the phrase, since they are never followed by an object. If the root of the head verb is (I), it is transitivized before adding one of the post-verbal auxiliaries.

The post-verbal auxiliaries are l and -el:

tal (or talel) - to come here (coming) - action of the verb terminates "here."

laškúciktál	They carried him here.	kúc (T) - to carry it
bayík'talél	He goes to carry it (to) here.	?ík' (T) - to carry it
laslók'esíktal	They brought him here.	lók'es (T)-to take it

?el - to go there (going) - action of the verb terminates in another, "known" of specified place

lasták?el	They ordered him (to go) there.	ták (T) - to order it
layík'un?él	He took me there.	?ík' (T) - to take it

?ócel - to enter (entering) - terminates with an "entering into"

lashímtanlán?océl	He threw them, repeatedly, into it.	hím(T) - to throw it
laškúc?océl	He carried him into it.	kúc(T) - to carry it

kómel - to stay, remain as it was - terminates with the subject remaining in the manner which the verb indicates

bašcónelkómel	He is going to be left, sold.	cón(T) - to sell it
hmánbetíkkómel	He is bought and left.	mán(T) - to buy it

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lók'el - to take out (removing) - terminates with subject (obj.) removed

kúcošalók'el	Take him out, carrying him.	kúc (T) - to carry it
laškúclók'el	He took him out, carrying him.	" - " " "

k'ótel - to arrive (arriving) - action terminates with subject (obj.) arriving

c?ok'kótel	He arrived, crying.	?ók' (I) - to cry

Other Verbal Compounds

Several verb stems tend to go into compounds or be joined to other verbs with no intervening conjunctive particles or comma junctures. It is possible that many or most verb stems do this, but there are only a few which are found consistently in these forms. In the corpus used for this study, the majority of stems are never found in these constructions.

These (T) stems are: ?ó?n ("to want...to"); k'án ("to want...to"); ?ák' ("to give it...to"); ná? ("to know how...to"); pás ("to be able...to").

These forms are fully inflectable, preceding other verb stems. The second verb stem in order is not inflected, except for person and plural, and is not temporally marked. It agrees with the temporality of the first verb stem, semantically.

In two cases in the data, two of these occurred in order, preceding a third stem.

?ó?n - to want...to

kó?n šibátutútik	We want to go.	
kó?nša šibát	I want to go right now.	
yó?n štal shúla?án	He wants to come to visit.	tál (I) - to come
		húla?án (T) - to visit

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k'án - to want...to

mahk'án šinúpun	if I want to get married	núpun (I) - to marry
tak'ánša ?awá?iyík	you (pl.) want to hear it	?á?i (T) - to hear it

?ák' (?á?be) - to give it...to

tbakák' ?awílik	I'm going to "give" you (pl.) to see it, i.e., to demonstrate it.	?íl (T) - to see it
bayá?be sá?	He went (to give a) look for it.	sá? (T) - to look for it

ná? - to know (how to), understand

hná? šipóštawán	I know curing (how to cure).	póštawán (I) - to cure

pas - to be able...to

múbuspás šiwáyukútik	There is no place in which we can sleep.	wáy (I) - sleep
spás šistí?	He can eat me.	tí? (T) - to eat it
spás bayák' hwé?tik	He can give it to us to eat.	?ák' (T) - to give it
		wé? (I) - to eat

Verbal Compounds (Separated by i or comma junctures)

Any two inflected verb stems may be contiguous if a comma juncture intervenes. The meaning of this type of verb phrase is: this action and then the other action.

cyílbahínik, śsá?beík	They annoyed him, and then looked for him.	?ílbahín (T) - to annoy him
		sá? (T) - to look for him

Two inflected verbs may be joined by ?i (from Spanish, y - "and"). Otherwise they seem to be identical with those above, separated by comma junctures.

sóliktál i yúlik

sól..tal (I) - to pass-by, coming

yúl (I) - to arrive here

They passed-by and arrived here.

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yul sk'óponík i hák'betík

yul sk'óponík (I and T) - they arrived to say it

hák' (T) - to ask (for) it

They arrived to say it, and they asked for it.

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CHAPTER VIII

SPECIMEN TEXT AND ANALYSIS

This illustrative text is a Tzotzil myth from San Bartolome, collected from Bartolome Hidalgo S. in 1960. Numbers refer to single morphemes generally, with explanation in the analysis which follows. Sentence breakdown is approximate.

"The Strongest Men"

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
1. tán?ok . étik ... la . s . lók' . es . ík . tál ... s .

The ash feet they brought to here its

10 11
wínkilél ... wíɬ.

owner the mountain.

3 4 12 7 13 14 15
2. la . š . kúc . ik . ?él ... ta ... ?úctik.

They carried him away to Candalaria.

16 17 9 18 19
3. té? ... lah ... s . hún al ... teklúm.

They destroyed its all the village.

14 20 21 22 23 24 25 14 20
4. ta ... y . óra ... c'ul ... mísa, ... ?i . ?óc ... ta ... y .

in its hour holy mass, did enter into the

26 22 27 3 4 17 6 9 18
útil ... c'ul ... ná, ... la . s . lah . és ... s . tékel ...

inside the holy house it was destroyed its all

28
kristyánu.

the population.

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29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 7 14
5. há? . ša . no?ó ... bó . ?oy ... Ø . bat . ém . ik ... ta...

of those only where they are they had gone to

37 14 4 38 7 29 30 31 34
sí?be, . ta ... š . cób . ik, ... ha? . šá . no?ó ... Ø .

gather wood, in their fields, only those they

39 7 40 29 41 42 33 7 14
kóm . ik ... ?i ... há? ... ?awíl ... lé? . oy . ík ... ta .

remained and they are now they are here in

43
hóbel.

San Cristobal.

29 30 44 4 45 7 3 4 5 6
6. há? . ša ... lík ... s . nóp . ik ... la . s . lók' . es .

Those begin they are thinking they placed

7 46 14 47 48 49
ík ... p'ilóm . ik'ál ... ta ... bé, ... yú?un ... múšak' ...

Islawonero in the road so that none

50 51 7 8 52 48 53 54
sól . uk . ik . tál, ... te yú?un ... san bartólo . é.

pass would they to this place the ones of San Bartolo.

55 4 8 7 52 4 17 7 14 47 54
7. me . š . tál . ik, ... te . s . lah . ík ... ta ... bé . e.

if they come then they are killed in the road.

16 56 57 58 59 7 54 3 4
8. té? . obí ... múc'u ... mas ... ¢óó¢ . ik . é ... la . s .

At that place who(ever) more strong (they) they chose

60 4 61 7 8
t'úk ... s . ba . ik . tál.

among themselves (and) came.

34 8 62 34 8 63 34 8 64
9. Ø . tal ... cáwuk, ... Ø . tal ... ?ík', ... Ø . tal ... híkicób.

Came lightening, came wind, came earthquake.

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40 65 66 4 67 7 54 40 68
10. i ... bák'in ... yúl ... s . tá . ik . é, ... i ... tek'ah .

and when arrived they meet and they were

6 69 7 70 14 35 7 53
es , ót ... ik, ... bu ... ta ... bát . ik ... san bartólo

stopped where they went San Bartolo

71 35 14 43
11. "ši . bát ... ta ... hóbel."

"I'm going to San Cristobal."

72 73 74 7
12. "k'u .. tba . pás . ik?"

"What will you do?"

75 76 77 78 79 48 80
13. "ba . k . ák' . tútik ... hún, ... yú?un ... yú?elál."

"We will give paper from the president."

81 56 82 83 54 49 57 50
14. "(a)héc . obí, ... lí? . to . é, ... muk' . múc'u ... sol."

"That may be, here still, not anyone passes."

84 4 85 7 86 74 87 88
15. "lék," ... š . cí . ik, ... "h . pás . tik ... táhimól, ...

"Fine," they say, "we are making a game,

86 89 87 57 58 4 12 48
h . k'él . tik ... múc'u ... mas ... š . kúc . yú?un."

we are seeing who more he is strong."

84 4 85 16 56 44 20 77 91
16. "lék," ... š . ci ... té? . obí, ... lik ... y . á? . be ...

"Fine," he says, that place, began to give it

4 61 7
s . bá . ik.

themselves.

29 25 92 93 62 54 14 94
17. há? ... ?óc ... ba?í ... te ... cáwuk . é ... ta ... hun ...

that one entered first the lightening on one

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62 3 4 95 91 7 96 9
cáwuk, ... la . š . túc' . be . ik . él ... s .

stroke of lightening, they cut off his

97 3 4 98 7 8 14 9 99
hól, ... la . s . hím . ik . tál ... ta ... š . méša ...

head they threw it here to his table

100
présiré nte.

the president.

16 101 34 102 34 44 20 103 17
18. té? ... p'éhel ... Ø . k'ót, ... Ø . lik ... y . ál: "lah .

there falling he arrived, he began to say: "It's

30 56 93 104
šá . obí ... te ... ?íslawoné.

died there the Islawonero.

16 56 50 7 8 40 66 7 14
19. té? . obí ... sol . ík . tál ... i ... yúl . ik ... ta ...

There they pass to here and they arrive in

43
hóbel."

San Cristobal."

34 66 4 105 7 40 106 47 87
20. Ø . yúl ... s . k'ópon . ík ... i ... hák' . be . tík:

arrived they say and ask us

57 3 4 107
"múc'u ... la . s . míl?"

"who killed (him)?"

108 109 86 110 111 49 57 50
21. "tá?ta?, ... mu . h . ná?, ... si ... múk' . muc'ú ... sol .

"Sir, I don't know but nobody has

8 82 54
tál ... li? . é."

passed coming here."

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112 113 57 58 114 21
22. "péro, ... hó?oš̆úk ... múc'u ... mas ... yán ... ?óra ...

But you all who more else now

41 54 14 35 7 14 115
?awíl . e ... ta ... bat . ík ... ta ... préso."

right now you are going to jail."

84 4 85 7 40 34 35 7 14 115
23. "lék," ... š̆ . cí . ik, ... i ... Ø . bat . ík ... ta ... préso.

"Alright," they say and they go to jail.

93 14 115 54 3 4 45 7 30 3
24. te ... ta ... préso . é ... la . s . nóp . ik . šá ... la .

In the jail they thought them they

4 116 47 7 93 117 54
s . mák . be . ík ... te ... yó?cebhó? . e.

would cover up the sumidero.

40 34 44 20 77 84 118
25. 'i ... Ø . lik ... y . ák' ... lék ... k'ínabálhó?, ...

And it began to give good rainstorm

119 120 30 4 121
astaké ... ta . š̆a . s . nóh.

until it is already full.

34 44 30 20 103 7 122 29 56 93
26. Ø . lik . šá ... y . ál . ik: "a ... há? . obí ... te ...

Began then they say: "Oh, those the

1 2 54 3 4 5 6 7 8
tán?ok . étik . e, ... la . s . lók' . es . ík . tál, ...

ash feet they brought them here

14 123 120 35 7 14 123
ta ... k'ópohél, ... ta . bat . ík ... ta ... k'ópohél.

to talk, they are going to talk.

3 20 103 7 93 4 124 7 3 4 107 7
27. la . y . ál . ik ... te ... s . túk . ik, ... la . s . míl . ik ...

they said they alone they killed

125
hó?ontútik."
us."

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126 3 107 7 120 127 30 89 7 126
28. k'úšci ... la . míl . ik ... ta . k'án.ša ... k'él . ik, ... k'úšci.

How you killed us (they) now want they see, how.

128 7 73 76 77 41 7 93 62
29. "lá? . ik ... tba . k . ák' ... ?awíl . ik ... te ... cáwuk .

"Come, I will give (show) you now the lightening

54 34 129 14 130 4 131
é ... Ø . yal ... ta ... lúm ... s . tékel."

bolt it knocked down to the ground all of them."

14 132 3 4 133 134 135
30. ta . ?ók' ... la . s . tám . tan ... hácel.

In a moment they picked them up standing there.

93 3 4 136 7 93 137 59 53 54
31. te ... la . š . c'ún . ik ... te ... mal ... ɬóɬ ... san bartólo . é.

They believed the most strong San Bartolo.

Free Translation

1. The ash-feet brought the owner of the mountain here (to S. Cristobal).
2. They carried him away to Candelaria.
3. There they destroyed the entire village.
4. During the Mass, the people went into the church, where they were all killed.
5. Only those who had gone to fetch wood in their fields were spared, and now are here in San Cristobal.
6. The men thought of putting Islawonero (the black thief) on the road so that none could pass him and come here.
7. Whoever tried to come would be killed on the road.
8. There they (the S. Bartoleños) chose the strongest among them and came here.
9. There came lightening, wind, earthquake.

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10. And when they arrived they met and the S. Bartoleños were stopped wherever they went.
11. "We're going to San Cristobal" (said the S. Bartoleños).
12. "What will you do there?" (Islawonero).
13. "We will present a petition to the president (governor)."
14. "That may be, but no one will pass here."
15. "Fine, we are playing a game; we are seeing who is stronger."
16. "Fine," he said and they began to test each other.
17. The lightening entered first on a lightening bolt, they cut off his head and threw it to the president's table.
18. When he arrived (lightening) he said: "The Islawonero died there.
19. They can pass there now and get here to San Cristobal."
20. The others (from S. Bartolo) arrived and asked (the governor), "Who killed him?"
21. "Sir, we don't know, but no one has passed him and gotten here."
22. "But all of you are going to jail right now."
23. "Alright," they said and went to jail.
24. In jail they thought about stopping up the sumidero (the drain for the closed mountain valley of S. Cristobal).
25. And it began to rain hard until it was filled up.
26. The others (from Candalaria) said: "Oh, those ash-feet, they were brought here to talk, and they're going to talk.
27. They said they alone killed us (our people)."
28. They wanted to see how the killing was done.
29. "Come, I'll show you how the lightening bolt knocked all of them down to the ground.

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30. In a second they picked them up.

31. They believed that the strongest were from San Bartolo.

Analysis of Text

1. tán?ok - N compound; tan - (N) ash; ?ok - (N) foot

   ash-footed people - the ancient people of S. Bartolomé.

2. -etik - N suffix - plural.

3. la- - verb prefix - completive with T.

4. s(or š before stems containing c, c', š); (y before stems beginning with V) - subject verb or N prefix - 3rd person.

5. lók' - I - to bring.

6. -es - Post-verbal transitivizing verb suffix - (bring) ... it.

7. -ik - 2,3 plural subject or possessive - verb or noun suffix.

8. tál - I; post or pre-verbal auxiliary verb - to come, to location of referent.

9. s - (same variation as 4) - N prefix - 3 singular possessive.

10. wínkilél - N - owner (wínik - man + ilel gives wín(I)kilél).

11. wíɬ - N - mountain - (9-11 - its owner, the mountain; is a regular type of possessive formation).

12. kúc - T - to carry it.

13. ?el - (see 8) - post verbal auxiliary - to go; away from referent location.

14. ta - general prepositional - to, in, by, at, from, etc.

15. ?úctik - N - ?uc - a type of insect.

    - tik - nominal derivational affix; place of.

16. té? - P - there (here).

17. lah - I - to finish, destroy

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18. hún*a*l - A - (=tékel) - hun, tek: one + V*l* (A) - all of.

19. tek*l*úm - N - village - tek - one; lum - earth.

20. *y* - (see 4,9) - 3 Poss. with noun stem of form -VC - his its.

21. ?óra - N - hour, time.

22. c'ú*l* - (A) with limited occurrence forming a type of noun compound - "holy."

23. mísa - N- Mass (Sp. misa).

24. ?*i* - 3 completive with I verb - he did ...

25. ?oc - I - to enter into.

26. ?útil - A - center part, inside.

27. ná - N - house; c'ul ná - holy house = church.

28. kristyánu - N - population, people.

29. há? - P - it is.

30. ǰa - post-particle affix - now.

31. no?o - post-particle affix - only.

32. bo? - P - where.

33. ?óy - S - to be; it is; has.

34. Ø - 3 completive - with I - he did ....

35. bat - I - to go.

36. -em - post-verbal particle - Perfective.

37. sí?be - N - wood-gathering (sí? - wood; -be, in the act of).

38. cób - N - farmlands (milpa).

39. kóm - I - to remain.

40. (?)i - P - and (=Spanish, y).

41. ?awíl - P - now.

42. lé? - P (with S) - here (they are).

43. hóbel - N place - San Cristobal las Casas.

44. lik - I pre-verbal auxiliary - to begin (to)...

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45. nóp - T - to think.

46. p'ilóm ?ik'ál - N - Islawonero - a particular thief (now a ritual character).

p'ilóm - fallen.

?ik'ál - black thing.

47. be - N - road, path.

48. yú?un - Pron. - his, her.

49. muk', mušak' - P - no, non, not, not yet, not now.

50. sol - I - to pass-by.

51. -uk - post-verbal particle, subjunctive - would, might.

52. te- - preverbal particle - it is.

53. sán bartólo - N - the village or the people of San Bartolomé.

54. -e - post phrase particle.

55. me - pre-verbal particle - if.

56. -obi - past particle - from there, there.

57. muc'ú - P - who, whoever.

58. mas - A - more, most.

59. ɬóɬ - A - strong, enduring.

60. t'úk - T - to choose.

61. -ba - P - reflexive.

62. cáwuk - N - lightening, lightening bolt.

63. ?ík' - N - wind.

64. hík'icób - N - earthquake.

65. bák'in - P - when.

66. yúl - I - to arrive.

67. tá - T - to meet, encounter.

68. tek'áh - I - to stop, stay.

69. -ót - post-verbal particle - Passive.

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70. bu - P - where.

71. si - pre-verbal particle with I - 1 singular: 1 ...

72. k'u - P - what.

73. tba - pre-verbal futurative particle - you will do ...

74. pás - T - to make, do.

75. ba- - pre-verbal futurative particle - will.

76. k - pre-verbal pronoun particle with T of shape $\sqrt{\text{V-}}$; I ... (see 86).

77. ?ák' - (?á?be) - T - to give it.

78. -túták - post-verbal particle - 1 plural exclusive - we alone.

79. hún - N - paper, declaration, appeal.

80. yú?elál - N - president, governor.

81. (a)héc - P - yes, maybe.

82. lí? - P - here.

83. -to - post-particle - extensional - still, farther.

84. lék - P - fine, O.K., good.

85. cí - A - to say, it is said.

86. h - pre-verbal pronoun particle with T not of shape $\sqrt{\text{V-}}$; I ... (see 76).

87. -tik - post-verbal plural particle - 1 (with h-, k-) - we.

88. táhimól - N - game, contest.

89. k'él - T - to see.

90. šku'c yú'un - he is strong.

91. -be - (?á?be) - post-verbal indirective particle - for it, to it.

92. ba?í - A - first.

93. te - pre-nominal particle - the.

94. hun - A - one.

95. túc' - T - to cut off.

96. -el - post-verbal particle - general 3rd person subject - they (unknown persons as a group).

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97. hol - N - head.

98. hím - T - to throw it.

99. méša - N - table (Sp., mesa).

100. présirénte - N - governor, president (Sp., presidente).

101. p'éhel - S - falling.

102. k'ót - I - to arrive.

103. ?ál - T - to say it.

104. ?íslawoné - (See 46).

105. k'ópon - T - to say, speak.

106. hák' - T - to ask.

107. míl - T - to kill.

108. tá?ta? - N - sir, old man.

109. mu - pre-verbal negative particle - not, don't.

110. ná? - T - to know.

111. si - P - but, if (Sp. si).

112. péro - P - but (Sp., pero).

113. hó?ošúk - Pron. - 2nd person plural - subject - you all.

114. yan - A - other.

115. presó - N - jail.

116. mák - T - to cover.

117. yó?ceb hó? - N - sumidero, water drain (hó? - water).

118. k'ínabál hó? - N - rainstorm - (k'inabal - N - rain drop; hó? - N - water).

119. astaké - P - until - (Sp., hasta que - until).

120. ta - pre-verbal particle - Temporal marker.

121. noh - T - to fill it up.

122. a - P - oh!

123. k'ópohél - N - talk, discussion - (from I (k'opoh)-to talk).

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124. tú́k - A - alone, only.

125. hó?ontútik - Pron. - we, us (exclusive).

126. k'úšci - P - how.

127. k'á́n - T - to want it, want to.

128. lá́? - A - come here!

129. yal - I - to come down, knock down.

130. lúm - N - earth, ground.

131. té́kel - see (hun - #18) - all of them.

132. ?ok' - N - a moment.

133. tá́m - T - pick it up.

134. tan - post verbal particle - pluralizes object.

135. há́cel - S - be standing.

136. c'ún - T - believe.

137. má́l - A - most, many

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APPENDIX

MORPHEME FINDER LIST

This list includes all of the Tzotzil morphemes which occur in the grammatical description and textual analysis.

The alphabetic ordering of the morpheme list is as follows: p, p', t, t', ŧ, ŧ', c, c', k, k', ?, b, s, š, b, m, n, w, y, l, r (g, d, f--in a few Spanish loans).

Since essentially all words are of the form C....., word introduced by glottal stops (?) are arranged in the order: ?i, ?e, ?a, ?o, ?u. The vowel order: /i, e, a, o, u/ is maintained throughout. A few affixes and other particles beginning with vowels are found at the beginning of the sections of the corresponding √-?V.

Word classes are designated following the Tzotzil forms, in the following manners:

1. Nouns

   a. N - regular nouns take the plural -etik, and are not specially marked. Those which take other plurals are so noted.
      1) -etik (-atik, -utik, rarely occurring variations) - "regular" nouns take this plural particle. A few rare plurals are also noted.
      2) -épal - "mass" nouns (e.g., "dust" - épal lum, "much dust").

   b. Names - personal, family, place names; operate as nouns syntactically.

2. Verbs

   a. T - transitive (-o: imperative suffix).

   b. I - intransitive (-an: " ").

   c. S - stative (-an " " - basic form is CVC-VL).

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3. Adjectives (A)

   a. N.C. - numeral classifiers.

4. Pronoun (Pron.)

5. Particle (P)

6. Poss. - for the several nouns which have a stem change when possessed:

   e.g., píšálal - hpišól (hat, my hat).

7. Name - proper (personal) names.

8. Numbers - are specified (#).

9. Nothing - several phrases, "cliches," sounds, etc., are not included in any word class.

Tones are marked only if high tone /'/. The affix, fl, following some nouns, occurs in the non-possessed form. Such nouns include body parts and other "inherently possessed" objects.

pítp'un	T	make it jump (animals)
pišálal	N	hat
pím	A	thick
pét	T	take in arms
pét	N.C.	one: standing plant--a tree
pecéc	N	hay tied in round bundles
péhpunáh	I	be lame
péro	P	but
pás	T	do, make
pás présentár	T	to meet, present
pás kanál	T	to earn
pás mólestár	T	to bother, annoy
pašyáh	I	to walk
panín	N épal	cooked corn (to be ground for maza)

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póc	T	to hit
pócilán	T	to flick with finger (a piece of paper or dry leaf and make a noise)
póbre	N-A	poor or miserable (person)
poštá	T	to cure
póm	N	honey
pórke	P	why, because
pwertá	N	door
présirénte	N	president
presó	N	jail
p'ilóm ?ik'ál	Name	"thief"
p'éc	N.C.	one; flat object as tortilla or piece of paper
p'éc	T	to have flat object in hand
p'éhel	S	falling (round object)
p'ol	I	increase the number of persons
p'ólmah	I	sell many things
-tik	1st Person Plural Subject Suffix with Transitive Verbs (with Person Prefix h or k-)	
-tik	1st Person Plural Object Suffix (with Transitive Verbs) preceded by -(u)kú or (u)tú	
-tik	1st Person Plural Subject Suffix (with Intransitive Verbs) a. sometimes preceded by -(u)tú or -(u)kú b. preceded by 1st Person Prefix, ši-	
-tik	Nominalizing (Place-where) Derivative Particle Suffix (with Noun Stems)	
tí?	T	to eat it
tíhɬah	I	to come closer
tílp'uh	I	to untie
tílc'uh	I	slide on a dry declining surface
te-	Pre-verbal "Certainty" Particle (no doubt implied)	
té	P	there--where we can see

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ték	N.C.	one: thing (any type)
tekél and N	A	all
teklúm	N	town, city
tek'áh	I	to stop, stay
té?	P	it is
té?	N	tree, stick
té?el	S	erect penis
-tés	Transitivizing Post-verbal Derivative Particle (with some I stems)	
tešéreš	N	scissors
tem-	P	if it is that...
tén	T	to hunt
tenál	N	granary, barn for corn
téno	P	there, no more
téye	P	he who is there
ta-	Pre-verbal Particle - temporal marker	
ta-	Pre-nominal "Relative" Particle	
ta-	Pre-verbal Particle (temporal marker) + 2nd Person Prefix	
-tá	Transitivizing, Causative Post-verbal Derivative Particle (with some I stems)	
tá	T	to meet
táta?	N	an older man, sir
-tak	Plural of Possessed Nouns	
-tak	Plural "Pluralizer" (many) of Possessed Nouns	
ták	T	send, order it
takín	N	dry thing
tá?ah	T	to heat up
táh	P	over there
táhin	I	play

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táhimól	N épal	game
tám	T	pick it up
-tan	Post-verbal Particle--Pluralizes Object	
tán	N	ash
tán?ok	N	ash foot (ancient San Bartoleños)
tawán	P	probably, maybe
táye	P	he who is over there
tál	I	come
to-	Pre-verbal (Temporal Continuative) Particle (still)	
-to	Post-verbal "Continuative" Particle	
tót	A thick liquid, like cream	
tót(il)	N	father
tób		#20
tóh	T	pay it
tóhob	I	to straighten it out
tóhobín	T	make a short-cut path
tóhol(íl)	N	pay, salary
tón	N	stone, rock
tónin	I	to lay eggs (hen)
tóy	T	to be poor, miserable
-(u)tú	First Person Plural, Exclusive, Suffix object with Transitive Verbs; subjunctive with intransitive verbs (see - (u) kú)	
túc'	T	to cut it off
túk'	I	untie oneself
túb(il)	N	saliva
túbaníh	I	to spit
tús	T	to put in order

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trénta		#30
t'úk	T	to choose
t'úšul	A	wet
t'ul	N	rabbit
ɬ-	Pre-verbal Temporal Particle (ta) + 3rd Person Verbal Prefix (s-)	
ɬísin	I	to flatulate
ɬílilán	T	to "wiggle" a leg rapidly up and down
ɬéob(il)	N	female servant, daughter
ɬáɬub	I	to be very strong
ɬák	T	glue together; take, grab (as chair, sickness)
ɬákomáh	I	to hunt
ɬóɬ	A	strong
ɬá?an	I	to defecate
ɬ'í?	N	dog
ɬ'ibá	T	to write it
ɬ'ís	T	to sew it
ɬ'ísomáh	I	to sew
ɬ'ét	T	to cut down a tree
ɬ'ák	T	to add to, to join
ɬ'ákal	A	complete, behind, after
ɬ'áki	I	to be ready
ɬ'ákli	T	follow it
ɬ'ó?ilán	T	to rock back and forth (while sitting)
ɬ'úɬ'un	T	to suck out inside (egg, snail)
c-	Preverbal Particle (ta) + 3rd Person Prefix (š)	
c-	Temporal Pre-verbal Particle + (3rd Person Verbal Prefix (y) before stems of shape $\sqrt{V-}$)	
cí	A	say: saying

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cicín	T	to strain, filter
cík'	P	with
cík'(il)	N	sweat
cík'in	T	to make sweat
cíb		#2
cének'	N	bean
capá	T	to make it ready
ca?	P	well
ca?í	P	well
cá?al	P	why?: last name
cá?bi	T	to shepherd animals; decide
cán	T	learn
canícb		#4
cánlahúneb		#14
cáwuk	N	thunder, lightening
cóp	T	to make him weak, lazy
cób	N	fields, milpa
cón	T	to sell (a thing)
cónoláh	I	to sell (many things)
cólcunáh	I	to walk on top of (as wall)
cúklih	I	to dent, bump oneself
cúk'	T	wash clothes
cúk'omáh	I	to wash clothes
cú?un	T	to suckle
c'íc'(el)	N	blood
c'í	I	to grow
c'ités	T	to grow it
c'ín	A	little
c'iwíc	N	market in the plaza

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c'áhnu	T	to make it of string, rope
c'ám	T	to receive it
c'ók(al)	N épal	pimple
c'óhon	T	string, rope
c'ut(íl)	N	abdomen
c'úm	N	squash
c'ún	T	to obey, believe
c'úl + N	A	holy
k-	1st Person Verbal Prefix (before stems of the shape $\sqrt{V-}$)	
k-	1st Person Possessive Prefix (with noun stems of shape $\sqrt{V-}$)	
késu	N épal	cheese
kérem (-krém)	N utik	boy (to 15 years old)
kakán	T	to block it up
ka?	N	horse
kót	N.C.	one: animal
kótolah	I	to walk on all fours, like an animal
kóh	P	for (a person); in place; instead of
kómel	I	to stay
-(u)kú	1st Person Inclusive Plural Suffix--object with T verbs, subject with I Verb	
kúc	T	to carry it
kú?un	Pron.	mine
kúš	I	revive, rest oneself
kúšul	S	alive
kúšob ?o?n(il)	N	one's plot of land
kúhul	S	sitting
kúhleb(al)	N	chair
kristyánu	N	person, people

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k'íb	N	jar
k'íšin	A	warm
k'íšnah	I	to warm (oneself)
k'ínabál	N épal	rain - sprinkle
k'éoh	N	song
k'éohín	T	to sing
k'éš(il)	N	debt, shame
k'éšaw	I	to be ashamed
k'él	T	to look, to see
k'ák'awéh	I	to burn milpa
(c'úl) k'ak'ál	N	the sun, heat, day
k'áh	T	to harvest
k'án	T	to want it, to believe it, to ask for it
k'ál	P	to, until (implies movement)
k'óp	N	word; affair, matter
k'ópoh	I	to speak
k'ót	I	to arrive there
k'ók'	A	hot
k'ób(il)	N	hand
k'oh	T	to knock, to hit it
k'u-	Pre-verbal ("what") Particle	
k'ucá?	P	why?
k'úca?al	P	why?
k'úšci	P	how?
k'úwan	P	what?
Ø-	3rd Person Completive Prefix (with Intransitive Verbs)	
-Ø	3rd Person Singular Object Suffix (with Transitive Verbs)	
?i-	3rd Person Completive Prefix (with Intransitive Verbs)	

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?a-	2nd Person Possessive Prefix (with nouns)
?aw	2nd Person Possessive Prefix (with noun stems of form $\sqrt{V-}$)
-?o	Post-verbal "Completive" Particle--when action at time stated is different from that which occurred before
?oš-	Preverbal Temporal Qualifier Particle ("soon")
-Vb	Nominal Pluralizer--"Special Relationship" (precedes--tak--with some possessed nouns)
-Vb	Verbalizing Derivative Particle (Intransitive Verbs)
-Vlan	Post-verbal Particle--often repeated action (with Transitive Verbs)
-Vlah	Post-verbal Particle--often repeated action (with verbs)
-i	Intransitive Post-verbal Derivative Particle
i or ?i	P and
-ik	2nd, 3rd Person Subject Suffix--with Transitive Verbs
-ik	3rd Person Plural Object Suffix--with Transitive Verbs
-ik	Plural "Pluralizer" (i.e., many) Verbal Suffix
(h)?íp	N.C. one: time (to do any thing)
(h) ?ipšá	P again, repeat
?iɬ'ín (al)	N younger brother (said by men)
?ik'	A black, dark
?ík'	T to invite
?ík'	N wind
?ik'(tál)	T to carry here
?íslawoné	N a thief in the festival of Carnaval
?íšlel(ál)	N younger sister (said by men)
-in	Verbalizing Derivative Particle (I)
-in (ím)	Verbalizing Post-verbal Derivative Particle (I)
-il	Nominal Suffix added to "inherently possessed objects" when using a non-possessed form (as of body parts).
-il	Post-name Suffix in Questions (which.....)

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-?ílan	Verbalizing Derivative Particles (Transitive)	
?íl	T	to see
?ílin	I	to become angry
?ílbahín	T	to bother; annoy
-e	Post-verbal, post-nominal--"Phrase Completive"	
?épal + N	A	many things
-etik	Plural Suffix (non-possessed nouns)	
-etik	Plural Pluralizer of Nouns (possessed or non-possessed)	
?éc'	I	to pass by
?éc'em	A	becomingness
?eán	T	to move many things from one place to another
?éawáh	I	to move many things from one place to another
-es	Transitivizing Post-verbal Derivative Particle (with some I stems)	
-eh	Nominalizing Derivative Particle (from I stems)	
-em	Post-verbal Perfective Particle (with I verb stems)	
?éntrekál	N	a returning
?énkelés	N	stranger
?enéro	N	January
-el	Nominalizing Derivative Particle (with I stems)	
-el	Nominalizing Derivative Particle (with noun stems)	
-el	Passive Verbal Suffix--with T verbs (or generalized 3rd person subject)	
-el	Nominative Suffix added to some noun stems when possessed	
?él	I aux.	to go there
?ermáno	N	brother
a-	2nd Person Verbal Prefix (with stems not of shape $\sqrt{V-}$)	
?át	T	to count (as money)
?atól	N	a counting
?átin	I	to bathe, shower yourself

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?átimól	N	bath
?áɬ'am	N épal	salt
?ác'	A	new; remade
?ák'	T	to give, leave
?ák'mantál	T	to order, send
?ák'?éntrekál	T	to return
?ak'	N	fiance, boy friend, girl friend
?ák'o + V	P	which, that
?ak'úbal	N	night
?á?i	T	to feel, to hear
?á?be	T	give it to .....
?ábteh	I	to work
?astaké	P	up to place, time, until
?asán	name	Asunción
-ahtík	Adjectival Pluralizing Particle (with N.C.)	
?ahníl(al)	N	wife, woman
?ahnílan	T	to marry her (said by men)
-an	Imperative Verbal Suffix (with I Verbs)	
-an	2nd Person Subjunctive Post-verbal Particle	
-anih	Verbalizing (I) Particle	
?ánɬ	N atik	woman
?ánɬiwáh	I	to look for a lover
-aw	Verbalizing (I) Derivative Particle	
?áwil(íl)	N	place
-al	Nominal Suffix added to some "personal" possession when non-possessed	
-al	Post-kinship Term affix in questions in reference to "one out of many"	

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-altik	Nominalizing "Place Where" Derivative Particle (with Noun stems)	
?ál	T	to say it
-o	Imperative Verbal Suffix (with T verbs)	
-ot	2nd Person Singular Object Suffix	
-ot	Passive Verbal Suffix (with T verbs) (but sometimes with I verb prefixes)	
?óc	I	to enter
?ócebál	N	entrance
?ók'	N	a moment
?ók'	I	to cry
"ok'ób	N	tomorrow
?ó?n	Pron.	to want to
?ó?n(il)	N	heart
-ob	Plural of Stative Forms	
-obi	Post-verbal "Spacial Distance" Particle	
?óbaníh	I	to cough
?obál(il)	N	cough, cold
-oš	Post-verbal "Immediacy" Particle	
?ošíb		#3
?óšlahúneb		#13
-ošuk	2nd Person Plural Object Suffix (with T verbs)	
-oh	Perfective Verbal Suffix (with T verbs)	
?óy	I	to be, to have
?ól(il)	N	child
?olíl	A	half
?ólol	N	child
?óra	N now, hour, time	
?út	T	argue, quarrel

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?úc	N	type of animal
?úc'	N	louse
?úc'	I	to drink liquids
-uk	Subjunctive (Dubitative) Post-verbal Particle (with some pre-verbal particles -ba, ?ak'o)	
?úk'um	N	river
-ub	P	to make or become--derivative suffix with T verbs
?úma?	N	stupid, deaf person
?úma?íb	I	to be stupid, deaf
-un	1st Person Singular Object Suffix (with T verbs)	
-?un	Post-verbal Particle	
bíɬ'un	T	to slide it--as in mud
-be	Post-verbal "Indirective" Particle (with T verbs)	
-be	Nominalizing ("in act of") Derivative Particle (with N stems)	
bé	N	road, path
-ba	Intransitivizing Post-verbal Derivative Particle	
ba-	Pre-verbal Futurative Particle	
-ba-	Reflexive Particle	
bat	I	to go
báɬ'	A	straight, right
baɬ'ík'op		real language (Tzotzil)
bák	N	bone
bák'in	P	when
ba?í	A	first, before
-báil	Nominalizing Derivative Particle (with T verbs)	
bankíl(al)	N	any older male, older brother (said by men)
bálc'uh	I	to roll down a hill
bálumíl	N	earth

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báluné̱b		#9
barí̱l	N	kite
bó?oy	P	where is?
bó̱l (il)	N	brother-in-law
bu-	Pre-verbal	(Place "where") Particle
bútk'ih	I	to push down
buk'á̱l	P	to where (?)
búlucí̱b		#11
s-	3rd Person Verbal Prefix (with stems not of shape $\sqrt{V}$- and not containing ɬ, c, or c')	
s-	3rd Person Possessive Prefix (with nouns not containing ɬ, c or c')	
sí̱?	N épal	firewood
sí̱?be	N	to fetch firewood
sim(íl)	N	nasal mucous
símaníh	I	to blow one's nose
sínko		#5
séɬ'	N	soup dish
sekúb	N	liver
según	P	as, according to
sá?	T	to look for it
sabáh	I	to do rapidly
sób	N	(early) morning
sobáh	I	to do rapidly
sol	I	to pass by
soltaro	N	soldier
ɬ-	3rd Person Verbal Prefix	
ɬ-	3rd Person Verbal Prefix (with stems not of shape $\sqrt{V}$- and which contain ɬ, c or c')	

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ǩ-	3rd Person Possessive Prefix (with nouns containing ǩ, c or c')	
ǩi-	1st Person Verbal Prefix	
ǩemána	N	week
ǩén	I	to vomit
ǩa-	2nd Person Verbal Prefix	
ǩa-	Pre-verbal "Temporal Immediacy" Particle	
-ǩa	Post-verbal "Temporal Immediacy" Particle	
-ǩá	N.C. + ǩá	other of whatever type object
ǩámbah	I	to walk
ǩót	T	to make it curve
h-	1st Person Possessive Prefix (with Nouns) (with stems not of shape $\sqrt{V-}$)	
h-	1st Person Verbal Prefix (with stems not of shape $\sqrt{V-}$)	
h.....-eh	Nominalizing-agentive Derivative Particle (with I stems)	
h.....-el	Nominalizing-agentive Derivative Particle (with I verbs)	
híkicób	N	earthquake
hím	T	to throw it very far
hec	P	yes
hek'úk	P	also
hesús		Jesus
hátaw	I	to flee
hácel	S	be standing
hac'	I	to fall
hac'úb	N	comb
hák'	T	to ask
há?	P	Demonstrative 3rd Person it is, this, he
há?bil	N	year

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(ta) há?be	N	to fetch water
há?aw	I	to carry water
hanéka	N	a loud measure
háwu	T	to measure with arms spread
hó?	N épal	water
ho?ób		#5
hó?ošúk	Pron.	you (plural)
hó?on	Pron.	I
hó?ontútik	Pron.	we, us (exclusive)
hóbel	N	San Cristóbal, Chiapas
hów(il)	N	arm length
hówi	I	to be in love, crazy
hol(íl)	N	head
hól	A	rare, unusual, much
hútuk	A	few
hun		#1
hún	N	paper
húnal + N	A	all
húla?áh	I	to visit
mísa	N	mass
míl	T	to kill it
me-	Pre-verbal	Particle Conditional (if)
mé?(il)	N	mother
mé?el	N	old lady
méša	N	table
mel	A	very
mélɛ́ah	I	to fix, to be ready
méro	A	real, actual

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mátan(al)	N	present
mák	T	to close
mak ná	N	door of house
mas	A	more
maš	A	small
-(V)mah	Post-verbal Derivative Particle	
mán	T	to buy it
mánolah	I	to buy (many things)
mál	A	very, many
málalín	T	to marry him (said by women)
mól	A	old; large (person)
mu-	Negative Pre-verbal Particle	
mú	A	delicious
muc'u	P	who?
múkɬah	I	to submerge completely
muk'-	Negative Pre-verbal Particle	
múk'	A	large
mú?(il)	N	sister-in-law (said by men)
múy	N	type of fruit; chico zapote
múl(il)	N	sin, blame
múliwáh	I	to have sin
mulóʔilúk	A	many
ni-	1st Person Completive Prefix (with I verbs)	
nícim	N	flower
nic'on(il)	N	child (said by men)
níkabáh	T	to nod (from sleepiness)
na-	2nd Person Completive Prefix (with I verbs)	
ná	N	house

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nákal	S	living
nák'	T	to hide it; to save it
ná?	T	to know; understand
ná?li	T	to make fun of; ridicule
nás	N	earlier today
-(i)nah	Verbalizing Derivative Particle	
náu	T	to sew it
náuwáh	I	to sew
nó	N	thread
nóp	T	to think
noh	T	to fill it
núpun	I	to marry
núɬ	T	to kick out
nukúl	N	hide of animal
núhul	T	upside-down (things); sitting up with head down
núhnunáh	I	to nod rapidly with head bent forward
w-	2nd Person Verbal Prefix (before stems of shape $\sqrt{V-}$)	
wíɬ	N	hill, mountain
wí?nah	I	to be hungry
wínik	N	man
wínkilél(il)	N	body
wínahél	N	heaven
wil	I	to fly
wé?	I	to eat
wé?eb(ál)	N	dining room
wé?el(íl)	N	dinner
wápetáh	I	to walk pregnantly
wákaš	N	cow

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wá?al	S	standing up (sickness--"stiff body")
wáḥ	N épal	tortilla (being made, not eaten)
wan-	Pre-verbal Dubitative Particle	
-wan	Post-verbal Dubitative Particle	
-wan	Intransitivizing Verbal Suffix (with T verbs)	
wáwetáh	I	to yell
wáy	I	to sleep
wálk'uh	I	to push
wó?	N.C.	one: person
wówetáh	I	to argue
wólhe	N	yesterday
y-	3rd Person Verbal and Possessive Prefix (before stems of shape $\sqrt{V-}$)	
yan	A	other, another
yal	I	to come, go down
yó?ceb	N	drainage place of closed valley
yú?elál	N	authority; president
yú?un	Pron.	his, her, of its
yúl	I	arrive here
-lV	Verbalizing Derivative Particle	
lík	N.C.	one: thing of material (rope, manta, paper)
lik	I	to begin; to get up with load on back, or in shawl
li?	P	here
lék	A	good, fine; it's good
lé?	A	here it is
la-	Pre-verbal Completive Particle (with T verbs)	
la?	A	come here!
lah	I	to finish, to die

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láhunéb		#10
-Vlan	Post-verbal Particle (often repeated action with T verbs)	
lóɛ'	T	grasp between 2nd and 3rd fingers
lók'es	T	to remove it
ló?	I	to eat fruit
ló?bah	I	to eat fruit
ló?bol	N	banana
ló?lo	T	to quarrel, lie
lóm	T	to lower
lú?	N	vagina
lum	N	earth, land
lúm	N	dust
lúneš	N	Monday
relóho	N	watch
réyno	N	king
disyémbre	N	December

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